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First Published January, 1976

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State Museum Library Lucknow

Published by Narayan Publishing House, 629, University Road, Allahabad, and Printed by P. L. Yadava at The Indian Press Private Ltd., Allahabad

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To

My Parents

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FOREWORD

Early in the nineteenth century the social customs of India were the subject of much hostile criticism from the missionaries as well as from those who like the philosophical radicals were under the influence of reforming rationalism. William Carey and David Hare, Derozio and Ram Mohan Roy, William Bentinck and Macaulay illustrate these different critical trends. Western and Indian orientalists were led in this situation to examine the meaning and origin of Indian social institutions from diverse points of view. This is the real beginning of Indian social historiography. The emergence of liberal nationalism and of communism on the scene much later led to still newer trends. After 1947 the emphasis on social history has grown. Just as the task of achieving national independence had created interest in the political past of the country, the current task of achieving a new social and economic order has similarly focussed attention on social traditions coming down from immemorial ages. Critical history is the most powerful solvent of tradition and both the liberal as well as the Marxist historians hope that their social histories would have the corrosive effect of truth on the gathered myth of the past. The liberals have been hoping, for example, that caste would give place to the free individual while the Marxists have been hoping that the analysis of caste will reveal an underlying structure of class conflict and that this analysis will in turn sharpen the awareness of such conflict. If the older

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social system of India was 'feudal', the newer might be either 'bourgeois' or bypassing that, socialist.

On the other hand, it is possible to argue that the ideological foundations of Indian social traditions rest on the general spiritual heritage of the country interpreted and debased from time to time in the light of actual social conditions and passions. The word *Dharma* sums up the traditional social ideal. *Dharma* has been defined in one of the ancient Upaniṣads as the principle of social justice, 'that by which the weaker in society cease to be at a disadvantage'. In another context, *Dharma* has been defined as the principle of 'non-violence'. Ashoka defines it in terms of 'social harmony' and the 'purity of the heart'. These are perennial social and moral ideas. In different ages attempts have been made to realize these ideas through different interpretations and strategies. In this fundamental sense *Dharma* is both perennial and historically contingent, being grounded in the spiritual nature of man as far as its form and general direction are concerned but deriving its content from the specific social condition in which men live in any particular age. Thus in the context of the modern capacity for the mobilization of resources, the age-old problem of economic inequality assumes an aspect which is radically different from what it had in the remoter and techno-economically less developed ages of history, a fact which is well recognised in the Marxian analysis of history.

Miss Mukerjee has no ideological bias and her work

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is largely based on the critical analysis of classical sources interpreted in more or less the traditional manner of 'liberal' scholarship. She writes in a simple and clear manner. Her interest in art in its social setting breaks new ground. She avoids speculative reconstructions on the basis of stray epigraphic references or imperfect archaeological material though she is aware of what light these might throw.

I am sure students and scholars of ancient Indian Social history will find Miss Mukerjee's work of great interest and look forward to more of it.

Dr. G. C. Pande
Vice-Chancellor
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Jaipur

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years a good deal of useful work has been done by a number of scholars on the social groups and classes, and the social life of ancient India. In the context of ancient Indian social history a considerable portion of the evidences is gleaned from the religious and normative texts, and the assessment thereof becomes a really difficult task in the absence of sufficient corroborative archaeological data. The problem of the establishment of the facts of social history is closely linked up with that of their interpretaton, and thus arises the methodological dilemma which has got to be faced at one level by every social historian.

The present work entitled *Some Aspects of Social Life in Ancient India* incorporates the results of the research work of Dr. (Km.) Sandhya Mukerjee, which she pursued at Santiniketan for her Ph.D. Degree from 1955 to 1958. The author has tried to handle her data judiciously and to present a clear, consistent and objective picture of caste, family life, status of women, slavery, dress and ornaments, and the social background of ancient Indian art. She has thrown some valuable light on the early casteless professions and the employment of slaves in productive activity.

17–9–75

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PREFACE

In the following pages an attempt has been made to give an account of the social institutions of India from the time of the Mauryas to the fall of the Kushāṇas. Under the Mauryas India for the first time became politically united and this political unity had a profound impact on the social ideals of the land. Disintegrating tendencies were checked and the political unification naturally tended towards the integration of different ethnological groups. Thus the caste system became crystallized by assimilating the diverse racial elements. This process of amalgamation had already started at an earlier date. The coming of various foreign hordes into India, after the fall of the Mauryas, further compelled the Pandits of the Dharma Śāstras to liberalise their outlook and much against their will foreign blood infiltrated into orthodox veins. In fact, the future Hindu society was born during this period.

Foreign and barbarian hordes were not only indianized but came to be regarded as touchable Śūdras or *aniravasita* who should not be 'expelled from the dish'. Ethnic amalgamations had dynamic repercussions on different spheres of life. Marriage laws were relaxed and whatever might have been the injunctions of the Dharma Śāstras, marriages not only between high and low castes but even between Indian royalties and foreigners were freely taking place. Dharma Śāstra writers in their eagerness to solve this anomaly evolved the

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theory of *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages. But the very account shows the fictitious character of the whole scheme.

The age seems to have been full of contradictions. The conflicting statements of the Dharma Śāstra writers hardly allow us to have a proper perspective of the social institutions of the time. Social history of ancient India has attracted the notices of both foreign and Indian scholars ever since a comprehensive study of the early history of India began. But as has been rightly pointed out by R. S. Sharma, there is still paucity of works 'exclusively devoted to the history of social structure in ancient India' (Historiography of the ancient Indian Social order, 'Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon,' ed. by C. H. Philips, p. 102). Some eminent modern scholars and indologists like A. L. Basham, Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, R. S. Sharma, Romila Thapar and others, have recently done outstanding works in the field. Professor R. S. Sharma deserves our grateful thanks for his book 'Śūdras in Ancient India'. The book not only meets the long standing demand for such a work on the subject but it also provides a complete survey of the status of Śūdras in ancient India. Separate works on caste, family life, *saṁskāras,* position of women, slavery, dress and ornaments and similar other themes are also available. Some of them are of great merit. Pioneers in the field have worked on different texts and topics but integrated works, based on various sources, both literary and archaeological, are still very few.

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Studies in the origin and development of the institution of slavery, which provides a solid subject for sociological research in any country, have received some attention of scholars from time to time. But such themes as the productive employment and utilization of slaves in ancient India, their training and proficiency in various arts and crafts, have not been properly investigated so far. D. R. Chanana in his 'Slavery in Ancient India' has given an account of the institution from the earliest times, but he has equated the Indian slaves, like Megasthenes, with helots. Some scholars have also expressed the view that chattel slavery in relation to production and as supply of labour for production was of negligible importance in ancient India (D. D. Kosambi, 'The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline', p. 23). Such topics, however, need further inquiry, as available references indicate profitable utilization of servile labour not only in tillage but in industrial and commercial undertakings as well. It has also been argued that there was no caste of slaves in India. Such a statement is partially true of the earlier period but the later *Smṛtis* do profess a caste-wise gradation of slaves.

Topics like position of women in ancient India have already received due notices of scholars and the subject has been treated from different angles. Periodwise treatment of the subject, on the basis of specific texts, has also been done. The Dharma Śāstra prescribes almost complete subordination of women in different spheres of life. In spite of such injunctions, however,

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women not only participated in important affairs of life but even went outside India on commercial errands and freely took to the life of religion. The apparent contradiction of the situation still remains to be analysed.

In recent years scholars are taking enthusiastic interests in the concept of social mobility in ancient India. Romila Thapar deserves credit for her contribution in the field. It is no doubt true, that the structure of ancient Indian society was never marked by absolute stratification and some degree of mobility may be noticeable in different spheres of life. Even conformists like Manu and Yājñavalkya could not overlook the situation. Yājñavalkya says that exaltation of castes might take place in the seventh generation. Manu has advocated the same view. In a formative period, like the one under our study, chances of mobility and flexibility cannot be overruled. Diverse socio-cultural forces, which were operating at that time, might have created a congenial atmosphere for social mobility. But the pattern of social stratification as a whole, was never drastically affected by these forces of mobility. Marxist historians have tried to explain the social ambiguities including caste and class relationships on the basis of socio-economic factors. Some recent works on social anthropology and sociology have also been done by noted scholars like N. K. Bose, Iravati Karve, Max Weber, etc. Terra firma of solid facts is, however, preconditional in every method of interpretation and cor-

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rect conclusions can only be derived by an objective study of facts.

Of late, social history of ancient Indian art is becoming profitable branch of study. Noted art critics and historians like Niharranjan Ray, Sivaramamurti, Jeanine Auboyer, etc., have already taken lead in the subject. Recently Devangana Desai has thrown new light on the erotic sculptures of India. The art history of the period under survey is also rich in its social significance. The period is specially marked by a freedom of art expression. Early art in India was initiated by low-caste craftsmen. Social subordination from which they suffered, naturally proved a barrier to the growth of proper art atmosphere in the country. Broadening of social and cultural horizon under the Mauryas, however, gave a spurt to art activity. Patronage of state and temple helped further growth of art. Thus Indian art, of this new fertile phase, not only emerged with a better fluidity of expression, but assumed a vital and autonomous role of transmitting the messages of contemporaneous life and thought to the posterity. Social background of art thereby becomes an imperative part of our study.

Chapters I—III of the book represent the thesis which was approved by the Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan, for Ph.D. degree. Some useful additions and alterations have been made in chapters IV and V. Discussion on Indian art is a new addition to the work. Though the period covered by the book starts at c. 325

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B.C. and ends at c. 200 A.D., evidences of earlier and slightly later ages, have often been taken into consideration to show the origin and development of a particular institution, for the social history of a country, unlike its political developments, can hardly be confined to a specific age or period. Available evidences, literary and archaeological, both Indian and foreign, have been utilized. Attempts have also been made to study the diverse and dynamic forces that were working behind the social ideologies of the time. I have always been on my guard to study the facts as they were and I leave it to my readers to judge whether I have succeeded in my efforts.

I take this opportunity to offer my respects and grateful thanks to Dr. G. C. Pande, Vice-Chancellor, Rajasthan University, Jaipur, for kindly writing the Foreword for the book and for giving me esteemed help and suggestions.

I am deeply indebted to my revered teacher and guide, Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya (Retd.), Senior Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan, for the valuable help and guidance I received from him while working for my thesis.

I express my sincere gratitude and offer my respectful thanks to Professor G. R. Sharma, Head of the Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, Allahabad University, for kindly writing an Introduc-

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tion to the book, and for all the help and encouragement I received from him.

I offer my respects and express my gratitude to Pd. Sumitranandan Pant, the eminent Hindi poet, for the gracious help I received from him on several occasions. I extend my grateful thanks and kind regards to Shrimati Mahadevi Verma, the noted Hindi poetess.

I am extremely grateful to Professor J. S. Negi, Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, Allahabad University, for the kind interest he has shown in my work and for his valuable advice and help. I am particularly indebted to Dr. B. N. S. Yadava, Reader, Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, Allahabad University, who has helped me with many valued suggestions. My grateful thanks to Sushri Shanti Joshi, Reader, Department of Philosophy, Allahabad University for the help I received from her.

To my other colleagues in the Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology—Dr. U. N. Roy, Dr. S. N. Roy, Dr. S. C. Bhattacharya, Dr. V. C. Srivastava, Dr. R. K. Verma, Sri V. D. Misra, Sri R. K. Dwivedi, Sri U. P. Arora, Dr. Geetadevi, Dr. Om Prakash, Sri B. B. Misra, Sri D. Mandal and others I extend my thanks.

My deepest debt is to my mother, my elder sister, Miss S. B. Mukerjee, my elder brother, Sri R. N. Muker-

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jee and other members of the family, who inspired me at every stage.

I am also thankful to Shri Vijay Tiwari, Advocate, Allahabad High Court, for advice and help. I am obliged to Shri S. C. Ojha, for kindly going through the proofs and other services rendered. I thank my publishers Messrs Narayan Publishing House. My thanks are also due to the proprietor, Indian Press Private Ltd., Allahabad.

In spite of my best efforts some printing and proof-reading errors, mostly of diacritical mark and punctuation have crept in. A few which readily came to my notice have been pointed out in errata. For all these I apologise to my readers.

I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Late Dr. Moti Chandra, former Curator of Prince of Wells Museum, Bombay, for kindly permitting me to reproduce and enlarge line-drawing sketches of some of the male and female head-dresses from his book entitled 'Prāchīna Bhāratīya Veśa-Bhūṣā'. I am also grateful to the Director, Archeological Survey of India, New Delhi, for kindly providing the photographs reproduced in the Plate Nos. I—VII.

Lastly I express my gratefulness to Dr. S. C. Kala, Curator, Allahabad Museum, for permitting me to take the photographs of some interesting terracottas and sculptures reproduced in the Plate Nos. VIII—XI.

January 1976
Allahabad

SANDHYA MUKERJEE

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ait. Brāh.	..	*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.*
Anc. India.	..	Ancient India as described by classical writers.
Āśv. Gṛ. Sūtra	..	*Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra.*
A.V.	..	*Atharva Veda.*
A.D.S. or *Āp. Dh. Sūt.*	..	*Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra.*
A.S.R.	..	Archaeological Survey Report.
B.D.S. or Baud.	..	*Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra.*
Brah.-jāla-sutta	..	*Brahma-jāla-sutta* (S.B.B., Vol. II).
B.C.L.	..	Bohn Classical Library.
Bhag. Gītā	..	*Bhagavad Gītā.*
C.H.I.	..	Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.
Dialogue	..	Dialogues of the Buddha (S.B.B., Vol. II).
Dīg. Nik.	..	*Dīgha Nikāya.*
Ep. Indica.	..	Epigraphia Indica.
Ethno. Notes	..	Ethnographic Notes in S. India by Thurston.
Ency. Brita.	..	Encyclopaedia Britannica.
E.R.E.	..	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
G.D.S. or Gaut.	..	*Gautama Dharma Sūtra.*
Hari.	..	*Harivaṁśa.*

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Ind. Antq.	..	Indian Antiquary.
I.H.Q.	..	Indian Historical Quarterly.
Jam. Prag. Sūtra.	..	*Jambudvīpa-Pragyapti Sūtra.*
Jāt. or J.	..	*Jātakas.*
J.B.O.R.S.	..	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
J.R.A.S.	..	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.U.P.H.S.	..	Journal of the U.P. Historical Society.
Kauṭ. Artha.	..	*Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra.*
Kauṣ. Upan.	..	*Kauṣītaki Upanishad.*
Kāma Sūt.	..	*Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana.*
Kāty.	..	*Kātyāyana.*
L.C.L.	..	Loeb Classical Library.
Mahāv.	..	*Mahāvagga.*
Mahābh.	..	*Mahābhārata.*
Majj. Nik.	..	*Majjhima-Nikāya.*
Manu.	..	Laws of Manu.
Mark. Purāṇa	..	*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.*
N. or Nārd.	..	Nārada.
Pāṇini.	..	Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī.*
Patañ.	..	Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya.
Peri. of Ery.	..	Periplus of the Erythraen Sea.
Pāñch. Brāh.	..	*Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa.*
Rāmāy.	..	*Rāmāyaṇa.*
R.E.	..	Rock Edict.
Ṛ.V.	..	*Ṛgveda.*

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Śat. Brāh.	..	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*
Sutta. Vibh. Pāch.	..	*Suttavibhaṅga Pāchittiya.*
Sām. Phala-sutta	..	*Sāmaññaphala-sutta* (S.B.B., Vol. II).
S.B.B.	..	Sacred Books of the Buddhists.
S.B.E.	..	Sacred Books of the East.
Tai. Saṁ.	..	*Taittirīya-Saṁhitā.*
Thg.	..	*Therīgāthā.*
V.D.S. or Vasish.	..	*Vasishṭha Dharma Sūtra.*
Viṣṇu.	..	*Viṣṇu Dharma Śāstra.*
Vātsyā.	..	Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra.*
Yājñ.	..	Yājñavalkya.

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Chapter I

CASTE

Introduction : Racial Elements in the Population of India

The people of India are not homogeneous. They are admixture of different ethnological elements, that poured into the country from time to time. These diverse racial elements with their distinctive cultures were accommodated in a composite organization, which ultimately contributed towards the creation of the India culture and the Indian Man.

According to anthropologists, the population of India has absorbed in itself at least five distinct racial elements that came to India in many waves. The earliest ethnic group to come to India, was the Negritos or the Negroid race. Negritos came from Africa along the coast lands of Arabia and Iran, settled in Western and Southern India and spread over Northern India and passed over to Malaya and the islands of Indonesia (Phillipines and New Guinea). But most of these people were killed. Only a few of their descendants survive in some of the forest tribes of Southern India, like Kadars of the Cochin forest, Andamanese and one or two scattered tribes living in the hill areas of Rājmahal south of the river Gaṅgā in Bihar, where one such case has been reported.[1]

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The next horde of immigrants into India were, the Proto-Australoids or the Austric people. They came from the West, from Palestine and spread outside of India in the East. This type is also allied to the aborigines of Australia. It contributed a substantial share to the Indian population, especially the lower castes. These Proto-Australoids are regarded as the forefather of Santals, Kols, Bhils, Mundas and other aboriginal tribes of India. According to Hutton these people are characterized by wavy, even curly hair, a broad nose and rather coarse features generally and by a darkish skin.[2] Austric tribes were probably known as *Niṣādas* in ancient India, (as is evident from the descriptions of the physical features of the *Niṣādas* given in the ancient literature). In the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, the *Niṣādas,* who are described in the Dharma Sūtras as a mixed caste originating from union between a Brāhmaṇa and Vaiśya woman,[3] are represented as "of the complexion of charred stake with flattened feature and dwarfish stature."[4] The Bhāgavata Purāṇa describes a *Niṣāda* as "black like a crow, very short statured, short armed, having high cheek-bones low-topped nose, red eyes and copper coloured hair."[5] In the Mahābhārata too a *Niṣāda* is described as a very short limbed person, resembling a charred brand with blood-red eyes and black hair.[6] All these ancient traditions regarding the *Niṣādas,* agree with the physical features of the Australoid race. It thus follows that the racial element of this Austric tribe was accommodated and amalgamated into an Indian caste.

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Mongoloids constituted the third wave of immigrants into India. Traces of their presence in India were found as early as in Mohenjo-daro. They entered India along the course of Brahmaputra river and its eastern tributeries and also by the way of Tibet. They formed settlements almost throughout Northern India and also in Assam, Bhutan, Nepal and in east and north Bengal and north Bihar and in the regions south of Himālayas in the North India, right upto the Kashmir.[7] In India they came to be known as *Kirātas*. In Manu's terminology they fall in the category of the *Vrātyas* of Kshatriya caste.[8] In the Mahābhārata they are represented as that "division of the *Mlecchas* as are sinful and came from the fastness of Himālayas, seen at a distance of a smoky colour." In another place in the same book they are referred to as the barbarous people of the North.[9] While in the Rāmāyaṇa the *Kirātas* are represented as having sprung from the cow of Vasishṭha along with the Pahlavas, the Yavanas, Kambojas, Barbars, etc., in order to save her from the enemy's hand.[10] According to Ptolemy, the *Kirātas* are the first people located in the extra-Gangem region.[11] Thus according to the evidences of the ancient literature, these *Kirātas* were a semi-barbarous tribe inhabiting the steppes of Himālayas and in the regions lying to the North. They were regarded as *Mlecchas* and were placed in the same category as those of the foreign tribes like Yavanas, Śakas and Pahlavas. Later on they were Indianized along with other foreign tribes, viz. the Yavanas, Śakas and Pahlavas, but were still regarded as

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beyond the pale of Brāhminical society on account of their alien culture.

The next group which came to India was supposed to be the Dravidians. They came from East of the Mediterranean region, from Asia Minor and they were mainly a people of the Mediterranean region race, mingled with the racial elements like Armenoid. Groups of these people settled in Mesopotamia and Persia, Iraq and Iran. They were the forerunner of *Āryan* culture in India. It is believed that they were builders of the great city culture of Harappā and Mohenjo-daro. They were known to their *Āryan* invaders as *Dāsas* or *Dasyus*. The earliest of these were of an unmixed long headed type, with dark skin, medium stature and broad nose. Hutton thinks that later comers were increasingly mixed with round headed people from the high lands of Asia Minor and perhaps Iran.[12]

The last and the final group of people that entered India and established their home there, were the Ṛgvedic *Āryans*. They belonged to the Indo-European language group. The expansion of Indo-Europen language in some way coincided with the domestication of the horse. Domestication of horse probably took place sometimes before 2000 B.C. People belonging to the above language group lived in semi-nomadic state in the great steppeland stretching from Poland to Central Asia. In the early part of the second millennium, they migrated in bands in different directions. Some of them moved Southwards to the Caucasus and the Ira-

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nian Plateau. From there they landed in Northern Mesopotamia and then they came to India. These are the first people about whom we possess some sort of record. They came to India somewhere about 1500 B.C. The *Āryans* from the Middle East are physically characterized as tall, fair, blond, blue-eyed with straight nose, wavy hair and long-headed type. Some scholars are of opinion that they also include a shorter and round headed people from Alpines, whom they absorbed linguistically rather than by blood fusion as Suniti Kr. Chatterjee thinks.[13] A. L. Basham has also pointed out that the "Āryan invasion of India was not a single concerted action,....."[14]

Double Āryan theory

R. P. Chanda thinks that there were two distinct sections among the Vedic *Āryans*, viz., the priests and the warriors, who did not consider themselves as offshoots of the same racial stock. Besides, there were also two sections among the sacerdotal class, Brāhmaṇas by descent and Brāhmaṇas by adoption, and these two were characterized by different physical types. He quotes the evidences of the Ṛgveda in support of this view. He says, that in the Ṛgveda (VII . 331) the Vasishṭhas who represent the first group or section, are described as 'white' while the Kaṇvas (X . 31. 11) representing the second group, are '*Krishṇa*', i.e. 'dark'. Brāhmaṇas with white complexion and yellow hair are mentioned by Patañjali in his Māhābhāṣya on Pāṇini (V. I. 115). In order to explain the differences of colour, of skin and hair between the two groups of Vedic *Āryans*, R. P.

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Chanda has assumed that the ancestors of the "white and yellow haired" group migrated to India from the temperate region in the far North, and the dark section had their home in the tropic. He is also of opinion that the fair and the fair-haired *Ṛṣi* clans from the North, the dark or brown Yajamāna tribes from South Western Asia and the very dark aboriginal *Niṣādas* were the ethnic elements out of which grew the five primary *varṇas* or castes, viz. the Brāhmaṇas Rājanyas (Kshatriyas) Vaiśyas, Śūdras and *Niṣādas*.[15] Chanda thereby adds one more caste to the traditional list of four.

Sacerdotal class

R. P. Chanda thinks that there were two different groups among the Vedic *Āryans* viz. the warrior and the sacerdotal groups. The last group was again divided into two classes and these two classes belonged to distinct ethnic groups of *Āryans*. We have already stated above[16] that the *Āryans* who migrated to India, did not belong to a homogeneous group but they belonged to two different racial elements, that of the Nordics, who were characterized by their fair complexion, blue-eyes, blond wavy hair, tall figure and handsome features. The second group, viz. the Alpines included shorter and round headed people. It seems that these two groups of people, when they came to India and had established themselves in the congenial atmosphere of the country, after vanquishing the former inhabitants of the place, devoted themselves to different

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pursuits in accordance with their ability and liking. One group devoted itself to the pursuit of religious rites and observances, and possibly members of this group belonged to the Nordic type as we have already seen that Brāhmaṇas with white complexion and yellow hair are referred to by Patañjali.[17] Naturally therefore the other group, viz. the Alpines took up the task of guarding and protecting the country from the incursions of the enemies. Thus two distinct classes of people arose, viz. the priestly class and the warrior class. Chanda has stated that there were even two sections among the sacerdotal class, viz. Brāhmaṇas by birth and Brāhmaṇas by adoption. He has also suggested, on the authority of the Ṛgveda, that one of these, viz. the Brāhmaṇas by birth (or the *Ṛṣi* clan) were of white complexion while the other, viz. the Brāhmaṇas by adoption were of darkish complexion. The latter suggestion of Chanda is illuminating. It implies that the latter group included some non-*Āryan* elements in its fold.

We read about many instances of transformation of castes and of conversion of persons of other castes including those of the lower castes into the Brāhmaṇical caste. Thus it has been stated in the Mahābhārata, that Vyāsa was born of a fisher woman and Parāśara of *Caṇḍāla* woman, and were not originally Brāhmaṇas but later on they became Brāhmaṇas along with many others.[18] Persons belonging to lower castes like the *Kaivarta* and *Caṇḍāla*—which were regarded as beyond the pale of *Āryan* society could be converted or assi-

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milated to Brāhmaṇical caste under certain circumstances. It is not possible to ascertain, at the present state of our knowledge, what these circumstances were. But one thing seems clear, that under certain conditions even non-*Āryan* elements got a free access into the Brāhmaṇical fold. This Āryanization or Brāhmanization started at an early period, as early as the age of Ṛgveda, and it is for this reason that we find two different sections in the sacerdotal class in the Ṛgveda, one described as 'white' and the other 'dark'.

Slater, in his book 'The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture' presupposes the existence of a priestly order in pre-*Āryan* society and suggests that Brāhmaṇas are the true product of the mingling of a heliolithic culture from Egypt with that of the Dravidians. He ascribes a Egypto-Dravidian origin to the caste system and tries to prove his theory by two main arguments. (i) He says that the bearers of heliolithic culture claimed divinity, and established in indonesia and elswhere, the ruling classes claiming divine descent, while the traditional Brāhmaṇa theory is that every Brāhmaṇa is a God. (ii) The carriers of the heliolithic culture are said to have been the worshippers of the sun and the serpent. The Nambūdiris of South who are regarded as the most venerated and conservative of all Brāhmaṇas, worship cobras and that Brāhmaṇ is a solar deity.[19] Now it is obvious that Slater draws his conclusion from an observation of the present position of the Brāhmaṇas in South India. But this is too presumptuous, and such a complex system as caste can hardly

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be studied in a limited area. Secondly the present position of a particular caste in a part of the country could hardly be regarded as standard for studying its position in remote antiquity. It is no doubt true, that people of the Vedic and even post-Vedic periods were worshippers of the sun and other elemental powers, but there is no direct mention of serpent worship in the whole range of early Vedic theology. Serpent worship was introduced in the Hindu Pantheon at a later period when racial and cultural fusion between *Āryan* and non-*Āryan* elements started on larger scale. Thus Slater's theory about the origin of castes, mainly that of the Brāhmaṇas, can hardly be accepted prima facie. But he is, perhaps right, so far as he suggests that the Brāhmaṇas as a class were not entirely of an *Āryan* extraction. They arose, as we have already stated, out of commingling of the *Āryan* and the non-*Āryan* elements.

Origin of caste

The question of the growth and development of caste system in India has been a hot bed of controversy since a critical study of history began. Diverse explanations about the origin of the caste system have been given by different scholars. The eminent French scholar Senart, ascribes it mainly to functional origin and describes it as a close-corporation, rigorously hereditary by nature, bound together by common occupation which relate more particularly to marriage, food and to questions of ceremonial pollution.[20] But as

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Hocart points out "caste and craft are by no means identical"[21] though they are interrelated to some extent. As to the hereditary nature of the caste occupations, it must be said that the caste system in India was not so much of a close corporation as it was commonly supposed. On the other hand regular transformation of castes was going on in the society. Thus it has been stated in the Mahābhārata that Viśvāmitra, though he was not originally a Brāhmaṇa by birth, attained the state of a Brāhmaṇa owing to his great religious austerities.[22] Then again the two sons of Nābhāgarishṭha who were originally Vaiśyas, attained the state of Brāhmaṇas.[23] This metamorphosis of castes did not only take place from lower to higher ones but cases of change of caste from higher to lower ones have also been recorded, as for instance the Vāhya races[24] and the *Vrātyas*[25] of Manu. Caste system was thus not a non-proselytising institution as was commonly held.

Risely in his book 'The People of India' has relied on theories of race and hypergamy to explain the origin of the caste system. According to him, the origin of castes is primarily due to colour differences and a system of hypergamy resulting therefrom. In order to base caste system on hypergamy, Risley finds it necessary to presuppose a hypothetical point at which, the result of intermarriage between fair invaders and dark aborigines provides enough women for the society in question to close its rank and become a caste.[26] But his theory, is at best nothing but hypothetical. Ghurye emphasizes in particular, the theory of priestly mani-

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pulation of Brāhmaṇas attempting to maintain the purity of race.[27] But this also does not seem to be a sound argument. Hutton, on the other hand, gives a long list of factors that are responsible for the origin of the caste system in India.[28] But the points particularly stressed by him are—(i) admixture of diverse ethnological elements.[29] About the commingling of various racial elements we have already discussed elsewhere so it is needless to dwell further on the question. (ii) The second factor held responsible by Hutton for the origin of caste, is the geographical isolation of the country. According to him many roads of migration have led to India and have ended there. This resulted in a fusion at different levels of culture and the varying customs, and the mere inescapable necessity of finding 'modus vivendi' on the part of a number of cultures, have played not an unimportant part to cause the caste to develop.[30] Hutton thus traces the origin of caste to the commingling of racial and cultural elements coupled with the geographical isolation of the country.

R. P. Chanda traces caste to race and function. He says, "colour or race difference, real and fancied, together with hereditary function, gave birth to the caste system." But as newer groups formed and attached themselves to the *Āryan* groups, the absurdity of regarding all as distinct colours was recognized, and the theory of *Varṇasaṃkara* or mixed caste was formulated to explain their orgins.[31] Chanda thus stresses the theory of colour or Varṇa in addition to functions.

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Ārya varṇa and Dāsa varṇa

In fact in early Ṛgvedic society we find a broad division between *Ārya varṇa* and *Dāsa varṇa*. The struggle for supremacy between the *Ārya varṇa* and *Dāsa varṇa* has been depicted in many Ṛgvedic hymns. There are many references to show that the *Ārya varṇa* "swept away the base *Dāsa* colour."[32] Again "he destroyed the *Dasyus* and protected the *Ārya varṇa*."[33] From these references many scholars conclude that in the above passages fair coloured *Āryas* have been distinguished from the dark complexioned aborigines.[34] But there is nothing in the Ṛgveda to point decisively to the fact that the word *varṇa* is always used in the sense of colour, and thereby the word *Dāsa varṇa* signifies the dark colour aborigines of India, who are also termed as *Dasyus* by their *Āryan* invaders. The word *varṇa* thus does not merely connote colour or complexion. On the other hand it may also mean "an order or confraternity and denotes some socio-religious order", as D. R. Bhandarkar renders it. In order to make his assumption more convincing Bhandarkar cites a Ṛgvedic verse which condemns the *Dasyus* as devoid of sacred rites.[35] This verse runs as follows—"Distinguish well between the *Āryas* and those who are *Dasyus;* chastising those devoid of sacred rites, subject them to the sacrificer."[36] In one of the passages of Ṛgveda Indra is represented as the slayer of both *Dāsa* and *Dasyu*. The *Dasyus* are designated in several places as *avrata* (अव्रतः), *akṛtu, Mṛdhravācha* (मृध्रवाचः — whose speech is indistinct), *anāsa* (अनासः), etc.

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Here we find an alien attitude towards the *Dasyus* or the *Dāsas* who were regarded not only as heathens but were treated with utmost difference as they were both racially and physically opposed to *Āryans*. The word *Dāsa* or *Dasyu* became synonymous with the term *Śūdra* in the post-Vedic literature. Originally the *Dāsa* or *Dasyu* was the name of a particular tribe. Thus *Dāsas* or *Dasyus* have been identified by Zimmer, Meyer and Hillebrandt with Dahai of the Caspian steppes, who were supposed to be closely allied in race and language to the Iranians.[37] While the word *Dasyu* corresponds to a similar tribe known as *Dahyu* to the Iranians, which in Iranian terminology means country, land, countryside (old Persian *dahya,* New Persian *dih*).[38] Thus word *Dāsa* or *Dasyu* was originally a tribal name of a people inhabiting the Caspian steppes and corresponding to the *Dahai* or *Dahya* tribe in Iran. But later on the word was Sanskritised and came to mean non-*Āryan* intruders or robbers. Still later the word came to be applied to the aborigines of India, who were mostly of a dusky complexion. We thus find such supplication in the Ṛgveda as "Indra who in a hundred ways has preserved the *Ārya* worshipper...has subjected the dusky skin to the Manus."[39] In another place dark or dusky skin of the *Dasyus* has been mentioned and contrasted with that of the *Āryas* who were of fair skin.[40] It is clear that word *Dāsa* or *Dahai* though originally a tribal name, came to be applied to the dark coloured aborigines, when the *Āryans* came and settled down in India. *Dāsas* thus formed a distinct group both racially and culturally and they included non-*Āryan* ele-

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ments both inside and outside of India. Thus we see that the original division of the early Ṛgvedic society into *Ārya* and *Dāsa varṇas,* did not merely connote a differentiation of colours but it meant a differentiation or rather conflict of two different socio-cultural cum racial units. The *Āryas* who were boastful of their superior culture, were too anxious to spread their *Ārya* rites over the earth,[41] while the non-*Āryas* were as much zealous to guard their own culture and faith against the *Āryan* intrusion. Thus started a prolonged cultural conflict between these two hostile groups which ultimately resulted in the evolution of the caste system in India.

The earliest reference to the fourfold division of society is found in the celebrated Puruṣa Sūkta of the Ṛgveda. Here a mythical origin has been ascribed to the caste system and we are first introduced with the four main *varṇas* of the *Āryan* society,[42] Śūdras being mentioned as the lowest among all these *varṇas.* In later texts, especially in the Dharma Sūtra and Dharma Śastra literature, we find them (Śūdras) as forming the servile caste of the *Āryan* society. They are regarded as beyond the pale of *Āryan* social structure and it was their duty to serve the upper three castes,[43] viz. the Brāhmaṇas, the Kshatriyas, and the Vaiśyas. They had no social status whatsoever and generally all contacts with them were cautiously avoided by the other three castes. There was thus a line of demarcation between the three upper *varṇas* who were considered as of one group, and that of the Śūdras. This marked difference between these two groups, viz. the three twice-born

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people and the Śūdras was noticeable as early as in Atharva Veda. In this Veda, as D. R. Bhandarkar points out, a Śūdra stands in precisely the same position to an *Ārya* as the *Dāsa* or *Dasyu* does in the Ṛgveda. (Some Aspects of Anc. Indian Culture, p. 9). Thus in a passage in this text the *Āryas* are put in direct contrast to the Śūdras and it is said by way of praising the qualities of a herb, that with the help of it we can see every one, viz. he who is a Śūdra or he who is an *Ārya*.[44] The same distinction is made in two other passages.[45] The above mentioned passages of the Atharva Veda thus indicate, that there was a clear demarcating line between the *Āryas* and the Śūdras, and the Śūdras as a class were either ethnically or culturally far removed from the *Āryas*. It was perhaps for this reason that in the later period they were excluded from all *Āryan* rites. D. R. Bhandarkar takes the word Śūdra as being the name of a tribe. He points out that Alexander the Great, in the course of his return journey met a people at the mouth of the Indus called Sogdi by Arrian and Sodre by Diodorus.

D. R. Bhandarkar, Suniti K. Ctatterjee[46] and some other scholars have identified Sodre with Śūdra and think that the word Sogdi is a misreading for Sodre. Bhandarkar further quotes Ptolemy, who mentions a tribe called Sydroi inhabiting Northern Arachosia.[47] The Śūdra Ābhīrān of Patañjali[48] has also been pointed out by him. From the above evidences Bhandarkar concludes that since Sydroi has been mentioned by Ptolemy as a particular tribe of Northern

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Arachosia, and since Patañjali mentions the word Śūdra along with the word *Ābhīra,* which being the name of a particular tribe, it follows that till patañjali's time Śūdras were as much a tribe as *Ābhīras*.[49]

Anirvasita Śūdras

Bhandarkar's suggestion about the origin of the Śūdras is quite illuminating. It offers some explanation at least, regarding the condescending attitude of the three higher *varṇas* of *Āryan* dominated society towards the Śūdras. Now the question arises whether this particular tribe named Śūdra comprised the aboriginal elements of India or whether it comprised some other ethnic elements along with non-*Āryan* elements of India. According to McCrindle, the Śūdras may be regarded as a remnant of the primitive stock which peopled the country before the advent of the *Āryans*.[50] Fick points out that the term Śūdra, which is applicable in Brāhmaṇical system to all non-*Āryan* Indian, is taken from the name of one particular stem out of the innumerable aboriginal stems, which from ethnical and cultural point of view were no less different from one another than the torch bearers of the new culture who spread from North-west to the Gangetic plains.[51] Thus according to both McCrindle and Fick, the Śūdras belonged to a single ethnic group of the aboriginal inhabitants of India. But as we will presently see, this was not actually the case and all the Śūdras, as mentioned in ancient literature, did not belong to the one and the same racial group. Pāṇini refers to some

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Śūdras as living within the pale of *Āryan* society,[52] implying thereby that there were other Śūdras who were living beyond its pale. Patañjali further elucidates this rule,[53] viz. *Śūdrāṇāṃ anirvasitānāṃ* (शूद्राणाम् अनिरवसितानाम्). He divides the Śūdras into two groups—(a) Śūdras that need be expelled from the 'dish' and (b) those that need not be expelled. Thus it seems that at the time of Patañjali at least, Śūdras were divided into two distinct groups, viz. the touchable and the untouchable Śūdras. The most curious thing to be noted in this connection is that, Patañjali even includes foreign tribes like Śakas or the Scythians and the Yavanas or the Greeks in the list of touchable Śūdras and regards them as a class of Śūdras living within the *Āryavarta*. According to Patañjali the term Śūdra signifies any person who had partially imbibed Indian faith and culture, but owing to his non observance of some of the sacred rites of the *Āryas,* was excluded from the social fold of the three higher *varṇas* and was designated by the broad term Śūdra. Thus the term Śūdra, though originally a tribal name, came to be applied to anybody who did not follow the social and religious customs of *Āryan* society whether he be foreigner or a primitive inhabitant of India.

In the ensuing pages we have noted how the *Āryan* society at first was divided into two broad groups, viz. the *Āryas* and the *Dāsas*. Later on this division become fourfold and the society was divided into four main *varṇas,* viz. the Brāhmaṇas, who occupied the predominant position in society, the Kshatriya who played

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the role of the protector of mankind, the Vaiśyas or the productive agents of society and the Śūdras or the servile class. At first this division was based, as we have already noted, on racial differences and on the degrees of difference in culture. But with the growing complication of the society, as a result of racial intermixtures, arising out of foreign invasions and hypergamous marriages, old racial theories became useless. Now economic factor came to play an important role along with the racial question in ascertaining the caste of person. Thus birth within a recognized professional group or occupational unit also came to be regarded as one of the determining factors for caste.

Occupational division of society

The same point has been emphasized in the Bhagavad Gītā. It is said that God created the four *varṇas* and apportioned duties among them in accordance with the respective qualities possessed by each of these *varṇas*.[54] The commentary on this passage explains these qualities as *sattva, rajas* and *tamas*.[55] *Sattva* being the special quality of the Brāhmaṇs, it was quite natural that they should be ragarded as the personification of all the best things of life. And the six duties of studying, teaching, sacrificing, assisting others to sacrifice, giving alms and receiving alms were assigned to them. The Kshatriyas possessed the symbolic quality of *rajas*. As such they were meant to play the part of a ruler and the warrior class. They were assigned the duties of studying, sacrificing, giving alms, using weapons and

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protecting life and wealth of people. The Vaiśyas were endowed with both *rajas* and *tamas* and the main duties assigned to them were cultivating, trading and tending of cattle. The symbolic quality of the Śūdras was *tamas* and as such they were regarded as low and contemptible and only servile duties were assigned to their lot. Thus each *varṇa* or caste was tied down to a few prescribed occupations, and it was ordained that nobody could transgress the lawful occupation of his own caste.[56] But these occupations had not as yet become hereditary. Thus it was prescribed by most of the Dharma Sūtra and Dharma Śāstra writers that Brāhmaṇas should devote themselves to studying, teaching, sacrificing, officiating as priests for others and giving alms, the Vaiśyas should engage themselves in agriculture, tending of cattle, trading, etc. But in spite of such prescriptions, it has been ordained, and that too by a Dharma Sūtra writer, viz. Āpastamba that the Brāhmaṇas should along with their other duties, 'glean corn in the fields.'[57]

Manu does not favour the above idea and he advises a Brāhmaṇa to avoid carefully the pursuit of agriculture as it causes 'injury to many beings.'[58] Only in exceptional cases does he allow a Brāhmaṇa to subsist by gleaning corns.[59] Gautama, on the other hand, makes a compromise between the two propositions and according to him agriculture and trade can be regarded as lawful occupations of a Brāhmaṇa, provided he does not do these works himself but have them done by some other persons.[60] It is thus evident that though trade

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and agriculture were held to be the legal occupations of the Vaiśyas only, they could also be pursued by the Brāhmaṇas. Āpastamba forbids a Brāhmaṇa to follow the profession of a Kshatriya because he says, by so doing a Brāhmaṇa becomes equal to a Śūdra.[61] Gautama and Manu on the other hand, permit a Brāhmaṇa to maintain himself by a Kshatriya's mode of life[62] and if his life is threatened he may use arms. Baudhāyana says that when confusion of castes threatens to take place it is permissible for the Brāhmaṇas and the Vaiśyas to take up arms in order to avert such calamity.[63] Similarly the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas could pursue the occupations of the next lower castes, if they failed to earn their livelihood by their own lawful occupations. The above discussions suggest therefore, that though there was interdependence between caste and occupation to some extent yet this occupational division of castes or rather castewise division of occupations had not become rigid so far as the four higher castes were concerned. But by this time society had outgrown the bounds of the former fourfold division. Various mixed and lower castes, arising either out of *anuloma* or *pratiloma* marriages or out of occupational regroupings, were added to the list. As a result *Āryan* society became a hybrid organization comprising persons of all variety and grades.

Buddhist and Jain theory of caste

Some aspects of this hybrid social organization, that grew up in India in the post-Vedic period, are

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preserved in the Buddhist and Jain texts and also in the Dharma Sūtra literature of the period. In the Buddhist and Jain literature we get a picture of a heterogeneous society. On one hand there is the mention of the four traditional *varṇas* and below all these four, i.e. below the Śūdras, we have other 'low tribes' and 'low trades' *'hīna jātiyo'* and *'hīna-sippāni'*. The Sutta-vibhaṅga-Pāchittiya enumerates five low trades as distinct from five low castes.[64] These were *Mālākāra-sippam* (basket maker), *Kumbhakārasippam* (potter), *Pesakārasippam* (*tantuvāya,* or weaver), *Cammakāra-sippam* (cobbler) *Nahapitasippam* (barber). The first five low castes were as follow—*Caṇḍālajāti, Veṇajāti, Neṣādajāti, Pukkusajāti,* and *Hīnanāmajāti.* Lalitavistara adds two more to the list. It is stated here that the Bodhisattva was not born in low families (*hīna kuleshu*), *Caṇḍāla* families or in the families of flute makers, wheel-wrights (or *Pukkusa* families).[65] Thus according to Lalitavistara wheel-wrights and flute makers (or *Veṇukāra*) also fall in the category of *hīnajāti.* Besides, there were other classes of people who derived their names from the names of the lands which they inhabited, e.g. *Māgadha* and *Vaideha*. We also find new rules about connubium (the right of intermarriage) and commensality (the right of eating together). These rules about intermarriage and interdining specially as represented in the Jātakas, seem to be fairly strict. Jātis of this age were commonly endogamous. The pride of birth and family purity through marriage within one's own caste, were the two overpowering sentiments expressed in the Jātakas

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(*Ekaṁ samajātikulā kumarikaṁ gaṇha*).[66] Thus we learn about the Brāhmaṇa agriculturist who had given in marriage his son to the daughter of the Brāhmaṇa belonging to the same family.[67] Sometimes if equal match could not be procured in the same village, bride was fetched from other places. Thus to Bodhisattva, who was reborn in a village not far from Benares in a *gahapati* family, the elders sent a girl of good family from Benares.[68] But at the same time there are also numerous instances of irregular unions.[69] Similar is the case with interdining. Jātakas give us an idea that interdining with lowborn persons was tabooed. We hear of the excommunication of sixteen thousand Brāhmaṇas from their caste for the unintentional offence of driking water mixed with the rice water a *Caṇḍāla* had used.[70] The Satadharma Jātakas relates the story of a Brāhmaṇa youth who committed suicide because he had eaten the leavings of a *Caṇḍāla's* dish.[71]

Strangely enough side by side with these rigid rules about connubium and commensality, we also find rationalistic views about high and low castes in the Buddhist and Jain literature. In the Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta a person is called Brāhmaṇa, if he possesses virtue and wisdom and not because of his colour, birth or knowledge of sacred verses.[72] The Madhura Sutta states that karma (deeds) and not caste, determines the consequences a man has to undergo for his action good or evil.[73] Then in the Uddālaka Jātaka, we are made to understand by a fitting parable, that the Brāhmaṇas do not occupy a superior position on account of birth but virtue alone

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makes a true Brāhmaṇa. But discussions of this sort, as has been rightly observed by Fick, are meant "not to give us a picture of Indian society but to oppose the claims of Brāhmaṇas to be through their caste in sole possession of truth, of the knowledge of the path of emancipation."[74] The veracity of Fick's statement is proved by few incidental refernces in the Jain and Buddhist texts. The same sentiment is expressed in the Jain Kalpa Sūtras where it is said that it never had happened nor would ever happen that *Arhats* etc. should be born in low families, mean families or Brāhmaṇical families.[75] Again in the Ambattha Sūtta Buddha is said to have curbed the pride of the young Brāhmaṇa Āmbattha by saying that the Krishṇāyana clan to which he belonged, was descended from a slave woman of a Kshatriya king.[76]

In the Buddhist and Jain literature we thus find three different factors working together. On one hand there were the ethnic groups which were trying to form themselves into separate homogeneous bodies through endogamous marriages, on the other hand there were different occupational groups which were tending to become hereditary. And thirdly there was a keen struggle for supremacy between the two premier castes, viz. the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas. This tussle for supremacy was based apparently on the concepts of superiority of birth, and caste monopoly of professions. The Buddhist and Jain writers though they vehemently oppose the idea of superiority based on birth, they themselves advocate it in unguarded pas-

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sages. To the above mentioned three factors was added a fourth one, viz. the geographical factor. Thus persons living in a particular part of the country developed their own peculiar social and religious customs and they formed themselves into separate units, and later on they crystallized into castes, e.g. as we find in the cases of *Māgadha* and *Vaidehaka*.

Distinction between professional groups and racial and geographical elements, is also noticeable in the Dharma Sūtra and the Dharma Śāstra literature. But here the line of demarcation is not so rigid. It seems that these diverse elements were fast converging. We find in our legal treatises a long list of occupations held as despised, and as such the castes which pursued those professions were looked down upon in society. Some of these professions were, the art of healing followed by the Ambashṭhas, chariot driving and management of horses by the *Sūtas* (or the *Rathakāras*). Service of women done by the *Vaidehakas,* trade followed by the *Māgadhas,* killing of animals living in holes done by Kshattris, *Ugras* and *Pukkusas*. Killing of fish by *Niṣādas* (whom we have already met as an ethnic horde). Carpenter's works by *Āyogavas,* slaughter of animals by *Medas,* playing of drums by *Veṇas.* Working in leather by the *Dīgnavas.*[77] Further all those castes which followed the above mentioned professions were supposed to have originated from exogamous marriages and were included under the general head of mixed castes. It is thus evident that there was no marked difference between the despised castes and pro-

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fessions as represented in the legal treatises, on the other hand, one was generally taken for another. Manu takes considerable pain to explain the genesis of these castes. He says that they grow out of 'confusion of castes' resulting from irregular marriages and that they may be known by their occupations.[78] Thus according to Manu all these multifarious castes, other than the first four traditional *varṇas,* owe their origin to exogamous marriages. But while saying so, he also alludes to the occupational factor as being an important agent in the determination of caste. Manu is not clear in his views about the real cause contributing to the origin of mixed castes. But his confusing statement points to the fact that by his time both these factors, viz. exogamous marriages and professional regroupings contributed to the further subdivision of castes, and these later on were categorised as mixed castes.

Castes of mixed Origin

The above discussions naturally lead us to the mixed caste theory of our legal writers. As we have already stated, that owing to a combination of factors a new problem arose in society, viz. the problem of admitting diverse ethnological, geographical and economical elements in the old fourfold system of society. And the solution came in the shape of heterogeneous mixed caste theory. This theory is first brought to our notice by Gautama[79] and has its full development in the laws of Manu.[80] According to legal authorities these mixed castes owe their origin to (a) irregular

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marriage,[81] (b) transgression of respective caste rules.[82] Manu makes a clear distinction between two types of irregular marriages, viz. *anuloma* and *pratioma* marriages and the offspring born of them. According to him sons born of *anuloma* marriages though similar to their fathers are "blamed on account of the fault (inherent) in their mothers."[83] As such they were regarded as *apasada,* while the offspring of *pratiloma* marriage (between a man of lower and a woman of higher caste) who were born as a consequence of violation of law, were regarded as *apadhavaṁsaga.*[84] Thus Manu gives precedence to *apasada* offspring originating from union between a man of higher caste and a woman of lower caste. Other lawgivers also rank the offspring of *anuloma* marriages (or marriages in the regular order of castes), higher than the *pratiloma* castes. Thus according to Gautama "those born in the inverse order (from father of a lower and mother of a higher caste), stand outside (the pale of) the sacred law."[85] While Viṣṇu points out that children begotten by a husband of inferior caste on a woman of a higher caste have no right to inherit, and their sons do not even receive a share of wealth of their paternal grandfathers.[86]

Anuloma and pratiloma

The children of *pratiloma* marriages were not only subjected to social degradation they were also subjected to legal and economic discrimination. Now the question arises as to why *anuloma* castes were given precedence over the *pratiloma* castes ! Both originated from

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irregular marriages; then why should one be ranked higher than the other! Our legal authorities fail to give a satisfactory explanation to this question. We may, however, try to explain this problem as arising out of degrees of intermixture of inferior or superior blood. But this explanation too, sounds inconsistent in the long run. Thus an offspring of a Śūdra male and a Brāhmaṇa female, possessed at least some degrees of superior blood in him through his mother's side, yet such an offspring better known as Caṇḍāla was placed at the bottom of society. But an offspring of a Śūdra male by a Śūdra female who definitely possessed inferior blood from both sides, occupied a position in society which was far removed from that of *Caṇḍāla*. Thus the explanation of intermixture of inferior or superior blood fails to solve the problem of *anuloma* and *pratiloma* castes. Hutton, gives a different interpretation to this problem. He explains it as an impact of patrilineal invaders on an indigenous matrilineal population. According to him in such a case a condition of society would arise in which the offspring of a woman of the patrilineal immigrants by a man of the indigenous matrilineal people held an anomalous and ambiguous position.[87] He further says that in the case of a patrilineal father and a matrilineal mother the child would have the status and kinship with both his father's and mother's families. He would inherit from both,[88] irrespective of the fact whether the mariage was patrilocal or matrilocal.

Hutton's suggestion seems to be quite interesting.

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Thus we find that when a Brāhmaṇa (i.e. a member of the patrilineal society) marries a Kshatriya woman (also belonging to a patrilineal society), the offspring becomes a *Svavṛṇa*.[89] Such an offspring though born of an irregular union, occupies a status in society which is next to that of the natural (*aurasa*) son of a Brāhmaṇa. He has one-third share in the property of his father, and if he is endowed with manly or superior qualities, then he has even an equal share in the paternal property with that of the natural sons of his father.[90] Similar is the case with an *Ugra*,[91] the offspring of a Brāhmaṇa begotten on a Śūdra wife. In this case though the mother comes from an inferior caste and a society of matriarchal people, yet the child of such a union is not treated with the same disregard as a *Caṇḍāla*, the offspring of a Śūdra male and a Brāhmaṇa female. In the former case, an *Ugra* being a child of a Brāhmaṇa male, who is a member of the patrilineal society of *Āryans*, has a right over his paternal property, however small it may be[92] and as his mother comes from a matrilineal society,[93] he can claim inheritance and kinship both with his father's and his mother's families. But a *Caṇḍāla* who being a child of a Śūdra male (i.e. a male belonging to a matriarchal society), and a Brāhmaṇa female (i.e. a female coming from a patriarchal society), has no status whatsoever either through his father's side or through his mother's side. It is no wonder, therefore, that a person like a *Caṇḍāla* should be placed at the bottom of the social scale. Because he could claim no property or kinship

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through his father with his exogamous matrilineal clan or through his mother with her endogamous patrilineal clan.[94] It is perhaps for this reason that Viṣṇu says that *pratiloma* offspring have no claim over their ancestral property.[95] Viṣṇu seems to have in his mind the case of a *Caṇḍāla* while he refers to the rule. This rule is not applicable to all *pratiloma* offspring. Kauṭilya says that *pratiloma* offspring like *Sūta* (the offspring of a Kshatriya male and Brāhmaṇa female) and *Māgadha* (who is born of union between a Vaiśya male and a Kshatriya female), can claim inheritance, if there is an abundance of paternal property.[96] But in both these cases the fathers come from patriarchal clan, and therefore there is no question of loss of social status for their offspring. It is thus clear that economic question along with social problem came to play a vital part in determining the caste of a person.

Abhisastas

Mixed castes also include persons excluded from the pale of the fourfold caste system due to some fault. Such is the case with the *Abhisastas*. An *Abhisasta* literally means 'accused or accursed person' and corresponds in Āpastamba's terminology to the *Mahāpātakin* of Manu and Yagñavalkya.[97] A person becomes an *Abhisasta* by slaying a Brāhmaṇa (whether initiated or not), a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya who has studied the Veda.[98] It seems, that like all other criminals they were at first ordinary accused persons. But later owing to the gravity of their sin they came to be regarded as social

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outcasts and still later they came to form a separate class by themselves. Āpastamba represents them as a dintinct social group, who must marry among themselves and must sacrifice for each other and must live together in dwellings outside the village.[99] Here we get a vague allusion to the fact that the *Abhisastas*, though at first were merely a class of outcaste persons later gradually developed into a distinct social group with all the attributes of castes attached to it. According to Āpastamba the sons of the *Abhisastas* could go bock to their former caste where they should be received accordingly. He says just as a man deficient in limbs, can beget sons who possess full limbs,[100] "in like manner a man who has lost his rights (can) beget a son, who possesses the rights (of his caste). For the wife is also a cause (of the birth of the son) and she is guiltless."[101] But in the very next passage he quotes Hārita and states that no intercourse should be allowed with the impure issue of an *Abhisasta*.[102] It is thus clear that though Āpastamba outwardly shows a magnanimous attitude towards the *Abhisasta*, actually he is of opinion that once an outcaste is always an outcaste.

Vrātyas

Besides, there were other races, viz. the Vāhya races, who were excluded from the community of the twice-born persons owing to their negligence of the sacred duties of castes. They were called *'Dasyus'* irrespective of the fact whether they spoke the language of the *Mlecchas* (barbarians) or that of the *Āryans*[103]

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In the same category falls also the *Vrātyas* of Manu. According to him the twice-born persons who do not follow the sacred duties of their castes and are not initiated at proper time, are excluded from the *Sāvitrī,* and are designated by the appellation *Vrātyas.*[104] *Vrātyas* of Kshatriya caste, according to Manu, are variously known as *Pauṇḍrakas,* the *Kodas,* the Draviḍas, the Kāṁbojas, the Yavanas, the Śakas, the Paradas, the Pahlavas, the Kīnas, the Kirātas and the Daradas.[105]

Other mixed castes that have been mentioned by our legal authorities, were geographical in their character. Baudhāyana ordains that the inhabitants of *Avantī,* of Magadha, of Saurāshtra, of the Deccan, of *Upāvrit,* of Sindh and the *Suvīras* are of mixed origin. He who visits the (countries of the) Āraṭṭas, Kāraskaras, Puṇḍras, *Sauvīras,* Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, etc., shall offer a *Punastoma* or *Sarvaprishthā.*[106] The above statement of Baudhāyana makes it clear that certain lands were regarded as beyond the pale of *Āryan* culture and they were not to be visited. This point becomes further clear if we study the geographical position of the Vedic *Āryans.* Vedic civilization originated and developed in a limited area. According to Kauṣītaki Upanishad,[107] the lands inhabited by the Vedic *Āryans* comprise, the Uśīnara, the Vasa, the Matsya, the Kuru, the Pañchāla, Kāśī, and the Videha. The land of Uśīnaras marked the western boundary of Vedic Indian and the land of the Videhas marked the eastern boundary.[108] Rivarly naturally grew up between the *Āryans* who lived with-

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in the area mentioned above and those that lived around them. Thus in the Atharva Veda, *takman* or fever is requested to go to the lands of Magadha, Gandhāra and Mūjavants.

"To the Gandhāris, the Mūjavants, the Aṅgas, and the Magadhas we deliver over *takman* like a servant, like a treasure."[109]

In the *Vrātya* book of the Atharva Veda[110] the *Māgadha* or the native of Magadha is represented as closely related to the *Vrātya,* who is deified there. The account of the *Vrātya* as given in the Pañcaviṁsa Brāhmaṇa,[111] summed up by Keith,[112] further elucidates our views. He is described as speaking *dīkṣitavācam* (the language of the initiated) though *adīkṣita* (uninitiated). The last characteristic conforms with the statement made by Manu.[113] We have already noted that Baudhāyana also states that the inhabitants of *Ānarta,* Aṅga, Magadha and other outer countries are of mixed origin. According to Chanda this statement of Baudhāyana is significant. It clearly indicates the belief of the dwellers of Vedic Āryandom, that the outer nationalities originated from ethnic stock or stocks that were quite different from the stock or stocks to which they belonged, and culturally the latter were *Vrātyas* or heathens who had not yet adopted the Vedic cult.[114]

From the above discussions it becomes clear, that the *Vrātyas* of Manu, though described to be degraded

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twice-born men, and relegated to the same status as that of the mixed castes, actually denoted ethnic stock or stocks which stood in clear contrast both racially and culturally to the *Āryan* stock.

Seven castes of Megasthenes

A study of the mixed castes naturally leads to the seven caste theory of Megasthenes. According to Megasthenes the population of India is divided into seven parts. (i) The Philosophers are first in rank but form the smallest class in point of number. Their services are employed by persons who wish to offer sacrifices or perform other sacred rites, and also publicly by the kings at what is called great Synod... (ii) The second caste consists of the husbandmen, who form the bulk of the population, and are in disposition most mild and gentle. They are exempted from military service, and cultivate their lands undisturbed by fear. They never go to town, either to take part in its tumults, or for any other purpose. (iii) The third caste consists of herdsmen and hunters, who alone are allowed to hunt, to keep cattle and to sell draught animals or let them on hire. They lead a wandering life and live under tents. (iv) The fourth class consists of those who work at trades, of those who vend wares, and those who are employed in bodily labour. (v) The fifth class consists of fighting men. (vi) The sixth class consists of the overseers, to whom are assigned the duty of watching all that goes on and making reports secretly to the king. The ablest and most trustworthy men are

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appointed to fill these offices. (vii) The assessors and counsellors of the king. He further remarks that no one is allowed to marry out of his own caste, or to exchange one profession or trade for another, or to follow more than one business. An exception is made in favour of the philosophers, who for their virtue are allowed this privilege.[115]

Most of the scholars[116] dismiss Megasthenes's theory about seven castes as utterly baseless and absurd. But a close analysis of Megasthenes's statements make it clear that it is not so absurd as is commonly supposed. We have already seen that Megasthenes lays special stress on endogamy and adherence to one's own occupation. This shows that he is fully alive to the prominent features of caste system as practised in an ancient India. Whatever blunders and confusions he makes, are due to his ignorance of the distinction between—(a) castes which owe their origin to hereditary professions, and (b) castes which owe their origin to birth. He makes a confusion between the two and regards them as one and the same. And as Schwanbeck points out, the Greek writers have increased the number from five (including handicraftsmen), to seven by their supposing the king's counsellors and assessors to form a distinct class from the Brāhmaṇas, by splitting the class of Vaiśyas into two, consisting of shepherds and husbandmen, by introducing a caste of spies,[117] and by omitting the servile class altogether. But here Schwanbeck also commits a mistake. He takes husbandmen and herdsmen, the second and the third castes of

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Megasthenes respectively, to be one and the same and conforming to the Vaiśyas of Brāhmaṇical caste system. But this does not conform with Megasthenes's description of these two classes. The husbandmen of Megasthenes are obviously agricultural people comprising both Vaiśyas and Śūdras, while the herdsmen fall to some extent to the same categories as *Niṣādas, Pukkusas* and *Kshattris*. The professions of these people, according to our legal authorities are hunting and fishing.

Megasthenes like Nearchus, mentions two types of Brāhmaṇas or philosophers. (a) Those who take part in religious ceremonies, conducting sacrifices, officiating as priests and so on and so forth, (b) others who act as political advisers to the king. The second caste of Megasthenes, as has been mentioned already, consists of agricultural people. Dhikshitar also thinks that husbandmen of Megasthenes are agricultural people who belonged to the Śūdra caste.[118] For, according to Kauṭilya, every village must have not less than 100 and not more than 500 families of agricultural people of the Śūdra caste.[119] The fact that Megasthenes's description of husbandmen is genuine, is also attested by Arrian. He says that in times of civil war the soldiers are not allowed to molest the husbandmen or ravage their lands; hence while the former are fighting and killing each other as they can, the latter may be seen close at hand tranquilly pursuing their work.[120] Thus the second class of people, mentioned by Megasthenes, do not actually conform to any specific caste, but comprise common agricultural people belonging to

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both Vaiśya and Śūdra castes. The third caste of Megasthenes, which includes herdsmen and hunters, are similar to the *Nisāḍas, Pukkusas, Kshattris, Ugras* and other lower castes, who earn their livelihood by catching and killing wild animals. The fourth caste comprises artisans and traders belonging to both Vaiśya and Śūdra castes. The sixth caste mentioned by him, is only a casteless profession. Similar is the case with his seventh caste. From the above discussion it is clear that Megasthenes's theory of seven castes is not so fictitious as it is commonly held. Although he confounds between castes (*jātis*) and casteless professions (*jīvikās*), his explanations seem plausible. According to N. Sastri, Megasthenes mistakes like that of all other Greek authors are due to their desire to establish a parallel between Egypt and India in social organization.[121]

Indianization of foreigners

One of the salient features of the caste system of the period under review, is the admission of foreign elements within the fold of Brahmaṇical society. It is stated by Manu that certain tribes who were originally Kshatriyas have "sunk to the condition of Śūdras owing to their omission of the sacred rites and not consulting the Brāhmaṇas."[122] Among these tribes he includes Pahlavas (Parthians), Śakas (Scythians) and the Yavanas (the Greeks). So here we find an attempt to amalgamate foreign tribes in the fold of Brāhmaṇical caste system. This attempt at the Indianization of foreign tribes is found also in the writings of other ancient

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authorities of our country. According to Gautama the Yavanas are the offspring of a Kshatriya father and a Śūdra mother.[123] Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini represents the Śakas and the Yavanas as *anirvasita* (or touchables) Śūdras and living outside *Āryavarta*.[124] All these incongruous assertions of ancient writers regarding the origin of the foreign tribes like Śakas and the Yavanas show, that these tribes were still in the process of being Indianized. Manu regards them as being originally Kshatriyas probably because of their valorous nature. But owing to their non-performance of caste rules they are classed as Śūdras. Patañjali regards them as touchables because they belong to a distinct class from that of the ordinary Śūdras. However, one thing becomes obvious from the statements of Gautama, Manu and Patañjali, viz. that these tribes presented a curious problem to the society. Under pressure of circumstances it became necessary to incorporate some of the foreign tribes, who poured into India from time to time, into the society, yet no plausible explanation could be given for their non-observance of Brāhmaṇical rites and rituals, hence they were assigned the status of the Śūdras.

Yavanas

Apart from the literary evidences discussed above, we also have some stray references about the amalgamation of certain foreign elements in the Indian society, in the epigraphic documents. Thus we first come across the word Yavana in the Rock Edict XIII of

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Aśoka.* Here a certain Yona-rāja Aṁtiyoka is mentioned along with other four foreign princes, over whom king Aśoka obtained *dharmavijaya*. Aṁtiyoka has been universally identified with the Greek king Antiochus, Soter, the king of Syria.[125] Yona or Yavana was therefore, a term used in ancient India to denote the Greeks. As Bhandarkar points out, this was perhaps the earliest instance of the Indian form of the word Ionian.[126]

The Yavanas first came to India in the wake of Alexander's campaign. But shortly afterwards they were driven out of the country by Chandragupta Maurya. Next we hear of them during the rule of the *Śuṅgas*. Patañjali gives us two examples of imperfect tense denoting an event which has occured recently, yet unwitnessed by the writer. These are: "*Aruṇad Yavānaḥ Sāketam, Aruṇad Yavano Madhyamikām*".[127] The fact that of all things Patañjali chose such unusual examples to make his sense clear, shows that actually there had been a siege of India during the period when Patañjali wrote his Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini. There has been a great deal of controversy over the question as to who was the leader of this invasion. Some say it was led by Demetrius,[128] while others hold it was led by Menander.[129] And still others are of opinion that

*In Rock Edict XIII, Yonas are singled out as the only people in whose zone in the whole of Aśoka's empire, the preachers of Indo-Āryan religion, the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, had not obtained a foothold till the time of its promulgation. (vide Inscription of Aśoka, pt. II, by B. M. Barua, p. 259.)

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there were two such invasions—one led by Demetrius and the other by Menander.[130]

We will not go into the details of these discussions as they do not concern us immediately. But one thing becomes apparent from all these discussions, viz. that both the Greek princes came to India either at the same or at different periods. Menander has been universally identified with king Milinda of Milinda-pañha—a *Pāli* work containing questions and answers of a certain king Milinda who became a convert to Buddhism. In this book Milinda has been called a Yavana king, who adopts Buddhism after a long and argumentative talk with the Buddhist monk Nāgasena.[131] The conversion of the Greek king Menander or Milinda, as the *Pāli* writer calls him, to Buddhism, has also been attested to by other sources. In a coin Menander has been called *Dharmika* (i.e. *Dhārmika*) which is essentially a Buddhist expression, instead of taradara. In addition to this epithet we also find the wheel of law (*Dharma chakra*) impressed on the coin.[132] All these point to the fact that Menander, though originally a Greek king, later became a convert to one of the Indian religions, viz. Buddhism. Not only did he become a convert to that faith, he became an ardent devotee, so much so that after his death, according to Plutarch, people of his realm contended for his ashes. According to Rapson this story must have been a reminiscence of the story of the distribution of the Buddha's ashes.[133]

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Whether Demetrius also became a convert either to Buddhism or Brāhmaṇical Hinduism, is not known for certain, but we get an Indianized equivalent of his name in certain literary and epigraphic documents of our country. Thus the city of Dattāmitri in *Sauvīra*, which has been identified with Sindh by scholars, is mentioned in the Siddhānta Kaumudi[134] on Pāṇini (IV. 2. 76). This city was perhaps named after Demetrius, as we do not know of any other illustrious Indian King called Dattāmitra or Dattāmitri, after whose name a city could be founded. Eminent scholars like D. R. Bhandarkar, N. R. Ray, and H. C. Ray Chaudhury and a host of others, hold the same view.[135] It is true that in Mahābhārata[136] certain king named Dattāmitra is mentioned, but nothing has been said regarding his family and lineage, so there is no difficulty if we identify this Dattāmitra with Demetrius. In one of the Nāsik cave inscriptions one Indrāgnidatta son of Dharmadeva, a Yavana and resident of Dattāmitra has been mentioned.[137] It is therefore permissible to identify this Dattāmitra of the epigraphs and literature with Demetrius, as we do not know of any other Indian king of that name. It is thus clear that Demetrius also became pro-Indian otherwise his name would not have been Indianized and a city could not have been founded to perpetuate his memory.

Besides these princely characters we come across other persons, of Greek origin, who became more or less Indianized. Thus a Kārle cave inscription records

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the gift of a pillar (*thaṁba*) in honour of the Buddha by Yavana Sihadhaya (*Siṁhadhvaja*) from Dhenukata.[138] The name Sihadhaya or *Siṁhadhvaja* is peculiarly Indian in character and the very fact that he made a gift of a pillar in honour of the Buddha, shows his partiality to that faith. We find mention of another Greek individual from Dhenukata who became a convert to Buddhism. Again the Kārle cave records the gift of a pillar by a *Dhamma* Yavana (*Dharma*-Yavana).[139] One Nāsik Buddhist cave inscription records the gift of a cave (lena) in the Mount *Triraśmi* with a *chaitya gṛha* inside the cave and cisterns, to the community of monks by Indrāgnidata or Indrāgnidatta son of *Dhamma*-Deva (*Dharma*-deva, the Yonaka or Yavana.[140] Similar is the case with Chaṁda or Chandra, who though a Yavana, made a gift of a hall-front (*garbha-dvāra*) as it is recorded in the Junnār Buddhist cave inscription.[141] Another Yavana Irila belonging to Gotas or Gartas made a gift of two cisterns (*podhi*) in honour of the Buddha.[142] All these evidences prove that these Yavanas not only adopted Indian names but became converts to one of the Indian religions, viz. Buddhism. Though Buddhism had some special attraction for the Greeks, sometimes they even succeeded in securing admission into the comparatively rigid fold of Brāhmaṇical faith. The Besnagar pillar inscription of 2nd century B.C. records the creation of a garuḍadhvaja for Vāsudeva by Bhāgavata (votary of Bhāgavata) Heliodora (Heliodorus), the son of Diya (Dion) the native of Takshaśilā. He has been specifically mentioned here

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as a Yona or Yavana, who came here from Mahārāja Aṁtalikita (Antialcidas) to rājan Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra.[143] It is thus clear that Heliodorus, the Greek ambassador to the court of king Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra, though of foreign extraction became a convert to the Vaiṣṇava faith. Thus we have sufficient evidence at our disposal to assert that quite a large number of Greeks, comprising both royal and private personages, became Indianized, and as D. R. Bhandarkar points out "if the word Yavana had not been mentioned in these inscriptions, their foreign extraction would have remained undetected."[144]

Śakas

The Indianization of the other foreign horde, viz. the Śakas was achieved in no lesser degree. Though the imperial dynasty of the Śakas was reigning in the Punjab and the eastern part of Afghanistan, their authority extended over different parts of India. At first a Satrapal system of government was introduced by them to rule the remoter provinces. But soon these Satrapas or Kshatrapas (viceroys) broke off from the yoke and declared their independence. Four different Kshatrapa dynasties were thus established in four different parts of India. The first was established round about Takshaśilā. The second at Mathurā, third at Kāṭhiāwād and Malwā and fourth in Deccan. The members of all these families adopted Hindu names and showed propitious attitude to either Buddhism or Brāhmaṇical faith, as is clear from epigraphic records.

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In a Nāsik cave inscription one Uṣabhadāta or Ṛṣabhadatta, the son of Dīnīka and the son-in-law of Kshaharata Kshatrapa Nahapāna, is mentioned who made a gift of three hundred thousand kine to gods and Brāhmaṇas together with sixteen villages. He also gave eight Brāhmaṇas the means to secure brides for themselves.[145] Neither Dīnīka nor Nahapāna are Indian names but the word Uṣabhadāta or Ṛṣabhadatta sounds peculiarly Indian, though nothing has been specifically mentioned in the inscription to signify his foreign origin. But in another Nāsik cave inscription he is called a Śaka.[146] Thus Uṣabhadāta, though he had a distinctly Hindu name and bestowed grants on Brāhmaṇas, was originally a foreigner. This Brāhmaṇical propensity of the Śakas, perhaps later on was more marked, otherwise such an orthodox Brāhmaṇical family as that of the Śātavāhanas, would not have dreamt of matrimonial alliances with the Śakas of Ujjain. We are told that Gautamīputra Śri Śātakarṇi one of the Śātavāhana kings, put a stop to the admixture of castes and restored the Brāhmaṇa religion to its former position; yet one of his successors Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi married the daughter of Rudradāman, who was the scion of the Śaka-Satrap family of Ujjain.[147] Though some of the Śakas showed favourable disposition towards Brāhminism, yet they had some special liking for Buddhism, like the Yavanas. As D. R. Bhandarkar points out, most of the members of the Imperial Śaka dynasty of Takshaśilā were Buddhists. Thus Spalirises, Azes, Maues, the second, third and sixth princes of this dynasty and also Spalahores and

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Spalgadames style themselves on their coins as *dharmika* or *dhārmika*, an expression which is peculiarly Buddhistic. Their coins also bear the wheel of law.[145] All these show that they adopted Buddhist faith.

The Buddhistic predilection of the Śakas did not confine itself to the royal dynasty only. We also find private individuals making endowments in favour of the Buddhists. Thus in one of the Nāsik Buddhist cave inscriptions we come across a female lay worshipper (*upāsikā*), Viṣṇudatā (Viṣṇudattā). She is specially mentioned as Śakanikā—the daughter of the Śaka Agnivarman, wife of the gaṇapaka Rebhila, and mother of the gaṇapaka Viśvavarman. She made endowments to the community of monks residing at the Mount *Triraśmi*.[149] Both Viṣṇudattā and Agnivarman are Indian names, yet they are called Śakas. It is therefore natural to assume that they, like many others, adopted Indian names and Indian faith. One interesting thing must be noted here. As D. R. Bhandarkar points out, the suffix Varman of both Agnivarman and Viśvavarman's names shows, that they were at one time considered Kshatriyas. This agrees with the statement of Manu. He regards both the Śakas and the Yavanas as originally Kshatriyas, but they are degraded to the status of Śūdra owing to their negligence of caste rules. This shows that the above mentioned tribes were so completely Hinduised that even the orthodox lawgivers of our country did not hesitate to include them in the fold of Brāhmaṇical society, and give them

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a proper status in life, so that they might not be excluded from the society of caste Hindus.

Aṁbaṣṭhas

Nihar Ranjan Ray has identified the republican state of Abastanoi, which was situated in the North-western part of India, with Aṁbaṣṭhas. He says that in the Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra the Aṁbaṣṭhas are mentioned along with the Hūṇas and the Sindhus (Kāśmīra-Hūṇa Aṁbaṣṭha-Sindhava'-ed. by F. W. Thomas, p. 21). The Hūṇas were of foreign origin and it is likely that the Aṁbaṣṭhas, if not originally foreigners themselves, did not at least belong to the orthodox fold of the Indian social or religious system. Neither the Pūraṇas nor the Smṛtis have incorporated them into the higher castes of the Hindus.[151] He further states that the Aṁbaṣṭhas were incorporated into the Hindu population as the warrior class, i.e. the Kshatriyas.[152] But neither in our literature nor in inscription we find allusion to their foreign origin. On the other hand in the Ambattha Sūtta, the Aṁbaṣṭhas are regarded as Brāhmaṇas.[153]

It is true, Gautama, Manu and other later writers include them in the list of mixed castes, but that does not necessarily imply that they were of foreign origin. According to Gautama Aṁbaṣṭhas sprang from union between a Kshatriya male and a Vaiśya female.[154] While according to Manu Aṁbaṣṭhas are the offspring of a marriage between a Brāhmaṇa male and Vaiśya female.[155] None of these authorities give

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us a real clue to the origin of the Aṁbaṣṭhas. But from Manu's statement that they were experts in the 'art of healing,' we can conclude that they practised medicine. In ancient India the profession of medicine, or the art of healing had never been a commendable one.[156] Hence it was quite natural for the Brāhmiṇical lawgivers to brand those men who pursued the prohibited profession of the art of healing, as of mixed origin.[157] It is therefore not unlikely, that the Aṁbaṣṭhas were merely an occupational group like many other mixed caste groups mentioned by our legal authorities.

Ābhīras

Another foreign horde which came to India, but later on were Indianized, were the *Ābhīras*. According to Manu they are the offspring of a marriage between a daughter of an Aṁbaṣṭha and a Brāhmaṇa.[158] In the Mahābhārata they are represented as a people located in the west of India on the banks of the Indus, who were conquered by Nakula on his *dīgvijaya*.[159] Further they are stated to have become Śūdras having omitted the duties of Kshatriya caste from the fear of Paraśurāma.[160] Thus the *Ābhīras* like the Yavanas and the Śakas, were regarded originally as Kshatriyas but later on were degraded to the position of Śūdras. Though Manu and the other legal writers of the period do not give us the least hint regarding the foreign origin of these people, yet Mahābhārata which in many places dwell on them, brand them as *dasyus* or bandits and *mlecchas* or foreigners. When Arjuna, after the

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catastrophe at Dvārakā, was conducting the Yādava widowed females, children and old men to Indraprastha, they were attacked by the *Ābhīras* and were robbed of their treasures and beautiful women.[161] An inscription at Nāsik, which records the gift of Śakanikā Viṣṇudattā, is dated in the reign of a king named Mādharīputra Īśvarasena, son of Śivadatta. Both Iśvarasena and Śivadatta are called *Ābhīras,*[162] yet they have distinctly Hindu names. Another inscription from Gundā at Kāṭhiāwād, dated in the Śaka, 102–180 A.D.), refers to the grant made by Senāpati Rudrabhūti, son of Senāpati Bappak. Here Rudrabhūti is called an *Ābhīra,* yet he has a Hindu name.[163] It is thus evident that the *Ābhīras,* though at first treated as *mlecchas* or foreigners, later on they were Indianized and were included among the mixed castes of ancient Indian society.

Kushāṇas

Another foreign tribe, viz. the Kushāṇas, who were a branch of the Yüe-Chi, embraced Indian religion. The first king of this dynasty, Kujula Kadphises, appears to have predilection for the Buddhist faith. Thus in one of the types of his coins, we find the image of the Buddha seated in conventional attitude with an uncertain object in hand.[164] His successor Vema (Wima) Kadphises was a devotee of Śiva. The reverse of his coins bear the image of Śiva, holding long trident in hand and behind him stands a bull. The legend on the reverse of his coins is *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga Īśvarsa mahiśvarasa Vima Kathphiśasa tradara.*[165]

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Maheśvara is an epithet of Śiva and the very fact Vima Kadphises assumed the title of Maheśvara, shows that he had faith in Śaivism. The coins of Kanishka, the most important king of this dynasty, bear the images of both Śiva and the Buddha. Thus some of his earlier coins (though they are Greek in character, script and language), bear the images of Śiva with four hands, holding a trident, drum and other significant symbols. But the later coins of Kanishka bear the image of the Buddha, both in sitting and standing postures. During his reign and under his patronage a council of monks was convened to settle the disputes of Buddhist canon. And it was at this time that the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism got the official recognition as state religion, and Kanishka became its first royal patron. Huvishka was also a patron of Buddhism and he built a splendid monastery at Mathurā. The last notable king of this dynasty was Vāsudeva. His coins bear the figure of Śiva attended by his Nandin, which shows he adopted Śaivism. His name, unlike that of his predecessors, is distinctly a Hindu name.

Casteless professions

The foregoing pages, which we have devoted to the discussion of mixed castes, give us some idea about the heterogeneous elements which are responsible for the mixed caste theory of our ancient lawgivers. In this connection we have already said a word or two about the professional castes and now we will try to find out if there were any casteless profession.

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Lüders in his list of *Brāhmi* inscriptions,[166] has given us an interesting account of such cateless professions. We can enumerate them as—

(i) Banker (*Śreṣṭhin, Veṇi*).[167]

(ii) Ironmonger (*Lohavāṇiya*).[168] The profession though perhaps casteless at first, was later on crystallized into a caste. Thus Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini (11. 4. 10) places the *Takṣa* (*carpenter*) and *Ayaskāra* (ironsmith) on the same level and regards both of them as Śūdras and excludes them from sacrificial rites. Nārada recommends utilising the services of an ironsmith, who is so by caste in the fire ordeal.[169] Though the ironsmiths are thus mentioned as a specific caste by the later authorities, we do not find them mentioned as a caste either in early Sūtra literature or in Manu.

(iii) Jewellers (*Maṇikāras*).[170] According to Uśanas (39-40) they were the offspring of a clandestine union between a Kshatriya male and a Vaiśya female.[171] But no other legal authority of the period, mentions them as a caste. In all likelihood they belonged to a casteless profession.

(iv) Caravan-leader (*Sārthavāhinī*).[172] According to Mrs. Rhys Davids, in the society depicted in the early Buddhist literature, "the rank of *Satthavāha* or Caravan-leader seems to imply some sort of federation. The position was apparently hereditary, and to be a *jeṭṭhaka* or elder in this capacity, on an expedition,

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apparently implied that other merchants (*Vāṇija*), with their carts and caravan followers, were accompanying the *Satthavāha,* and looking to him for directions as to halts, watering, precautions against brigands, and even as to routes, fording, etc."[173] The caravan-leaders thus definitely belonged to a casteless profession.

(v) Perfumer (*Gandhika*).[174]

(vi) Dyer (*Rayaginī*).[175] According to Manu a *snātaka,* i.e. a student who had just completed his studies, should not take the food given by a dyer.[176] Though Manu further comments that a dyer falls in the category of untouchables, he does not specify the dyer as belonging to a particular caste. According to Uśanas, however, he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a Śūdra male and a Kshatriya female.[177] Uśanas thus tries to include the dyers within the caste groups.

(vii) Worker in metal (*Lohikākāraka*).[178]

(viii) Actors (*Śailālakas*).[179]

(ix) Goldsmith.[180] (*Sovaṇika* or *Suvaṇakāra*).

(x) Dancer (*Nataka*).[181] Manu mentions the *Natas* or the dancers, as the *Vrātyas* of Kshatriya caste, and says that the practice of dancing entails loss of caste.[182] While in the Mahābhārata it is stated that a Brāhmaṇa should not take food from a professional dancer.[183] It seems that dancing was regarded as a very despised profession.

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(xi) Merchant (*Vāṇija* or *Vāṇijaka* or *Nekama*).[184]

(xii) Architect (*Navakamika*).[185]

(xiii) Labourer (*Kamika*).[186]

(xiv) Clerk (*Lekhaka*).[187]

(xv) Musicians (*Vāṇīka*).[188]

(xvi) Weaver (*Sotika*).[189] The weavers are called *Pesakāras* in the early Buddhist literature. The Suttavibhaṅga Pāchittiya[190] enumerates five low occupations as distinct from five low castes. In the list of these five low occupations it also includes *pesakāra sippam* or weaving. While a *tantuvāya,* is regarded as a Śūdra by Patañjali, whom he excludes from sacrificial rites.[191] The weavers thereby, at first merely belonged to a casteless profession but later on were treated as Śūdras.

(xvii) Workers in ivory (*Daṁtakāras*).[192]

(xviii) Artisans (*Āveśin*).[193] Manu forbids a *snātaka* to take the food of an artisan as that will destroy his offspring.[194] In another place Manu advises a king to take work, one day in each month from mechanics, artisans as well as Śūdras, who live by manual labour.[195] According to Manu artisans are thus professional people, stigmatized on account of the nature of their job.

(xix) Cavalry (*Aśvāraka*).[196] According to a story recorded in the *Dipavaṁśa,* king of Ajātśatru, when he

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visited the Buddha asked him what is the good in renouncing the world as he has done, when other people (and here he gives a list of twenty-five), by following other crafts, get something out of them. And in this list of crafts he also mentions cavalry.[197] Cavalry was, thus simply a casteless profession.

(xx) Carpenter (*Vaḍakin*).[198] Patañjali considers *Takṣa* (which is another synonym for *Vaḍakin* or carpenter), as a Sūdra and places him in the same level as an *Ayaskāra* (ironsmith), who is excluded from sacrificial rites.[199] Manu makes it a taboo to take the food of a carpenter.[200] Even as early as the Vedic period, the carpenter was regarded as an unholy person. Thus in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa he is treated as an impure person whose touch is liable to make *Yajñapātras* impure.[201] It is thus clear that carpenters were regarded as untouchables. Manu assigns the work of the carpenters to *Āyogavas*.[202] According to Manu[203] and Gautama,[204] *Āyogavas* belong to *pratiloma* caste, having sprung from a Śūdra male and a Vaiśya female, while Baudhāyana[205] says *Āyogavas* are the offspring of a Vaiśya male and a Kshatriya female. Thus the carpenters (who belonged to the caste of the *Āyogavas*), were placed in the category of mixed castes.

(xxi) Stonemasons (*śela-Vaḍakin*).[206]

(xxii) Polisher (*Mīṭhika*).[207]

(xxiii) Blacksmiths (*Karmāras*).[208] Manu treats them as a people, whose food should not be taken by a Brāhmaṇa.[209]

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(xxiv) Physician (*Veja*), and royal physician (*rājaveja*).[210] The food of a physician is regarded as vile as pus by Manu.[211] Hence it should not be taken.[212] He further says, that a physician should be avoided at sacrifices offered to the gods and to the manes.[213] According to him the act of healing belongs to the Aṁbaṣṭhas.[214] Both according to Gautama and Manu, Aṁbaṣṭhas belong to *anuloma* caste. According to Gautama they are the offspring of a Kshatriya male and a Vaiśya female,[215] while Manu says they have sprung from a marriage between a Brāhmaṇa male and a Vaiśya female.[216] Physician thus belong to the caste of the Aṁbaṣṭhas.

(xxv) Gardner (*Mālākara*).[217]

(xxvi) Arrow-maker.[218]

(xxvii) Sculptor (*Rupakāraka*).[219]

(xxviii) Ploughman (*Hālakiya*).[220]

(xxix) Fisherman (*Dāsaka*).[221] Manu refers to him as a mixed caste person and a cross between an *Āyogava* and a *Niṣāda*. According to him Dāsaka subsists by working as a boatman and the inhabitants of *Āryavarta* call him a *Kaivarta* (Manu X. 32. and 34.).

(xxx) Potters (*Kularika*).[222] Also known as *Kumbhakāra*. The Suttavibhaṅga Pāchittiya mentions the *Kumbhakāra sippam* as one of the five low occupations.[223]

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(xxxi) The workers fabricating hydraulic engines (*Odayaṁtrika*).[224]

(xxxii) Oil millers (*Tilapishaka*).[225] Perhaps identical with modern telis.

(xxxiii) Bamboo workers (*Vasakāras*) and braziers (*Kāsākāra*).[226] The *Vasakāras* or the bamboo workers were perhaps the same as *Veṇa* jātis of *Pāli* literature. According to *Pāli* literature *Veṇa jāti* was one of the five low castes people.[227]

The casteless professions mentioned above, form only a small number of the multifarious professions of that sort, of which it will not be possible to give an account here. These crafts however, in course of time, acquired all the characteristics of castes and were either included in the list of mixed castes or were classed as Śūdras and thus added to the further complexity of society.

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89. G.D.S., IV. 16 (footnote); Manu, X. 8. 18; B.D.S., 1. 8. 16. 6.
90. Kauṭ., Artha., BK III, Chap. VI.
91. G.D.S., IV. 17 (footnote).
92. Kauṭ., Artha., BK III, Chap. VI, also Viṣṇu, XVIII. 1-5.
93. It is generally, believed that the early inhabitants of India mostly belonged to matriarchal clans. The popularity of the cult of matter worship, which prevailed in India right from Proto-historic period, also confirms the fact.

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94. 'Caste in India', Hutton, J. H., p. 149.
95. Viṣṇu, XVIII. 1.5.
96. Kauṭ., Artha., BK III, Chap. VI.
97. A.D.S., I. 9. 24. 6 (footnote, p. 79); Manu, XI. 87 and II. 185; G.D.S., XXI. 12; V.D.S., XXIII. 37.
98. A.D.S., I. 9. 24. 6 and 7.
99. Ibid., I. 10. 29. 8.
100. Ibid., I. 10, 29. 11.
101. Ibid., I. 10. 29. 11 (footnote, Haradatta).
102. Ibid., I. 10. 29. 14.
103. Manu, X. 45.
104. Ibid., X. 20.
105. Ibid., X. 43, 44.
106. B.D.S., I. 1. 2. 13, 14.
107. Kauṣ. Upan., VI. 1.
108. Chanda, R.P., 'Indo-Āryan Races', p. 37.
109. A.V., V. 22. 5-14.
110. Ibid., XV (Chanda, R.P., p. 38).
111. Pañch. Brāh., XVII. 4.
112. J.R.A.S., 1913, p. 159.
113. Manu, X. 20.
114. Chanda, R.P., 'Indo-Āryan Races', pp. 42-43.
115. Megasthenes Indica, Fg. XXXIII, BK III, collected and edited by Schwanbeck ('Anct. India as described by classical writers', pp. 83-86).
116. Davids, R., 'Buddhist India', p. 264; Otto Stein, Megasthenes and Kauṭilya, op. cit., pp. 120-121, (Dikshitar, 'Mauryan polit.' p. 353).
117. Schwanbeck, 'Anct. India as described by classical writers', p. 85 footnote.
118. Dikshitar, 'Mauryan polit.', p. 354.

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119. Arthaśastra, BK IX, Chap, II.

120. Quoted by Sastri, N., 'Age of the Nandas and Mauryas', p. 114.

121. 'Age of the Nandas and Mauryas', p. 116; Refer Herodotus (II. 164). According to Herodotus the Egyptains were divided into seven distinct classes.

122. Manu, X. 43-44.

123. G.D.S., IV. 21.

124. Patañjali on Pāṇini, IV. 3. 109.

125. Smith, V., 'Early Hist. of India', p. 173.

126. 'Ind. Ant., Vol., XL., 1911, p. 11.

127. Sāketa is generally identified with Ayodhyā and Madhyamikā with Nāgarī in Chitor (Udaipur)

128. (a) Bagchi, P.C.,I.H.Q., Vol. XXIII, No. 2, 1946, p. 86; (b) Bhandarkar, D.R., Ind. Ant., Vol. XL., 1911, p. 11; (c) Ray Chaudhury, H.C., 'Polit. Hist. of Anct. India', p. 249.

129. Goldstücker and Smith identify the Greek invader with Menander, 'Polit. History of Ancient India', Ray Chaudhury, p. 249.

130. Ghose, N. N., 'Early History of India', p. 159.

131. S.B.E., Vol. XXXV and XXXVI.

132. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXII, p. 430 and Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, 1911, p. 12.

133. C.H.I., p. 551.

134. Transactions of International Congress of the Orientalists, London, 1874, p. 345.

135. (a) Bhandarkar, D. R., Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, 1911, p. 12; (b) Ray, N.R., I.H.Q., Vol. IV, 1928, p. 743; (c) Ray Chaudhury, Polit. Hist. of Ancient India', 4th edn., p. 319.

136. Mahābhārata, I. 139. 23.

137. Eph. Indica, Vol. VIII, p. 90.

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138. Eph. Indica, vol. VII, p. 55, Lüders List (Eph. Indica, Vol. X), No. 1093.

139. Lüders List (Eph. Indica, Vol. X), No. 1096.

140. Ibid., No. 1140.

141. Ibid., No. 1156.

142. Junnār Buddhist cave inscription (Arch. Survey of West India, Vol. IV, p. 92 ff).

143. Lüders List, No. 169.

144. Ind. Ant., Vol XL, 1911, p. 13.

145. Eph. Indica, Vol. VIII, p. 78.

146. Ibid., p. 85 ff.

147. Kāṇheri Buddhist Tank Insc., Lüders List, No. 991.

148. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIII, p. 429.

149. Eph. Indica, Vol. VIII., Lüders List, No. 1157.

150. Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, 1911, p. 15.

151. Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. IV, 1928, p. 741.

152. Ibid., p. 742.

153. Ambattha Sūtta, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part. I, 109.

154. G.D.S., IV. 16. 17 footnote.

155. Manu, X. 8 and X. 47.

156. B.D.S., II. 1. 2. 13; G.D.S., XXI. 11.

157. V.D.S., III, 3; XIV. 2, 3. 11.

158. Manu, X. 15.

159. Mahābh., II. 32, 1192 'Index to the names in Mahābh'. by Sorensen, S., p. 3.

160. Ibid., XIV 29. 832 'Index to the names in Mahābh'. by Sorensen, S., p. 3.

161. Ibid., XVI. 7. 223; VIII. 270; Mahābh., Index by Sorensen, S., p. 3.

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162. Eph. Indica, Vol. VIII, p. 88 ff., Lüders List, No. 1137.

163. Ibid., Vol. X, p. 157.

164. 'Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum' by Whitehead, Vol. I, p. 181 (Pl. XVII. 29). This type was first published by Mr. V. Smith in Part II of his 'Numismatic Notes and Novelties', J.A.S.B., 1897.

165. 'Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum' by Whitehead, Vol. I, p. 183 (Pl. XVII, AI. 31) and Pl. XVII, 33 and 36).

166. Ep. Indica, Vol X.

167. Lüders List, No. 1055.

168. Ibid., No. 29, S. 20.

169. Nārada (Ṛṇadāna, 288) Kane, 'Hist. of the Dh. Śāstra', Vol. II, part I, p. 94.

170. Lüders List, No. 1005.

171. Kane, 'Hist. of the Dh. Śāstra', Vol II, part I, p. 90.

172. Lüders List, No. 30. S. 22, No. 1062.

173. C.H.I., p. 211; Dīgha Nik., II, 342; Jāt., I. 98.

174. Lüders List, No. 37. S. 32; No. 68. S. 83; No. 78. S. 98; No. 1187, No. 1210, No. 76. S. 98.

175. Lüders List, No. 32. S. 35.

176. Manu, IV. 216.

177. Kane, 'Hist. of the Dh. Śāstra', Vol. II, part I, p. 94.

178. Lüders List, No. 53. S. 52; No. 54. S. 54.

179. Ibid., No. 85.

180. Ibid., No. 95, Nos. 986, 1177 and No. 92 (a).

181. Ibid., No. 100.

182. Manu, X. 22.

183. Mahābhārata, XII. 37, 31.

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184. Lüders List, Nos. 322, 355 also Nos. 987, 1139 1285, 1198.
185. Lüders List, No. 154.
186. Ibid., No. 181.
187. Ibid., Nos. 209, 1037.
188. Ibid., No. 280.
189. Ibid., No. 331.
190. Suttavibh. Pāch., II. 2. 1.
191. Mahābhārata, II. 4. 10.
192. Lüders List, No. 345.
193. Ibid., No. 346 and No. 1202.
194. Manu, IV. 219.
195. Ibid., VII. 138.
196. Lüders List, No. 381.
197. Davids, R., 'Buddhist India', p. 88.
198. Lüders List, No. 495, and 'Inscribed Jain Image Inscription of the year 12' (Eph. Indica, Vol. X, p. 111, No. 1092).
199. Mahābh., II. 4. 10.
200. Manu, IV. 210.
201. Śat. Brāh., I. 1. 3. 12.
202. Manu, X. 48.
203. Ibid., X. 12.
204. G.D.S., IV. 16-17 footnote.
205. B.D.S., I. 9. 8.
206. Lüders List, No. 987.
207. Ibid., No. 987.
208. Ibid., No. 1032.
209. Manu, IV. 215.

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210. Lüders List, Nos. 1048 and 1190.
211. Manu, IV. 220.
212. Ibid., IV. 212.
213. Manu, III. 152.
214. Ibid., X. 47.
215. G.D.S., IV. 16 ff (footnote).
216. Manu, X. 8.
217. Lüders List, Nos. 1051 and 1061.
218. Ibid., No. 709.
219. Ibid., No. 857.
220. Ibid., No. 1121.
221. Ibid., No. 1129.
222. Ibid., No. 1137.
223. Suttavibh. Pāch., II. 2. 1.
224. Lüders List, No. 1137. S. I.
225. Ibid., No. 1137.
226. Ibid., No. 1165.
227. Suttavibh. Pāch., II. 4. 10.

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Chapter II

FAMILY LIFE

Early sacraments

A twice-born man's life is an eternal chain of religious rites and sacraments, beginning from the cradle and ending in the grave. A child is born in the family, and with it starts a series of holy rites and sacraments to admit the new member to the old family circle. These various holy rites are performed in order to "sanctify the body and purify (from sin) in this life and after death."[1] Immediately after the birth of a child the ceremony known as *Jātakarma* (the ceremony after birth) is performed and after that follows the tonsure and *Muñjībandhana* (the tying of the sacred girdle of *Muñja* grass).[2] Then comes the most important ceremony, viz. christening of the child or the *Nāmadheya* ceremony. This is usually performed "on the tenth or the twelfth day after the birth or on a lucky lunar day in a lucky *muhūrta* under an auspicious constellation."[3] Even in the matter of naming a child caste distinction is fully observed and the distinguishing characteristics of different castes are applied to choose the names of children belonging to different castes. Thus Manu prescribes, "Let (the first part of) a *Brāhmaṇa's* name (denote something) auspicious, Kshatriya's be connected with power, and Vaiśyas with wealth but a Śūdras (express something) contemptible."[4] It is

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evident from this remark that, the feeling of contempt for the Śūdras was so deep rooted in the minds of the twice-born people that they could not overcome it even in the act of the christening a child. How far this rule can be applied to practical life it is difficult to ascertain, because the naming of a child depends to a great extent on the special likes and dislikes of the parents. Manu also gives injunctions that the names of girls are to be different from those of the boys.

After the *Nāmadheya* ceremony 'the first feeding with rice' or the *Annaprāśana* of a child is to be performed. According to Manu, this ceremony should be performed when the baby is six months old.[5] Then comes the ceremony that counts most in the life of a twice-born person. Because it is the *upanayana* or initiation ceremony that gives the twice-born men their true status in life. According to both Manu[6] and Vasishṭha,[7] the initiation ceremony in the case of a Brāhmaṇa boy should be performed on the eighth year, that of a Kshatriya boy on the eleventh, but twelfth in the case of a Vaiśya boy. A twice-born man who is not initiated at the proper age, which does not pass till the completion of the sixteenth year in the case of Brāhmaṇa, twenty-second year in the case of Kshatriya, and that of Vaiśya till the completion of twenty-fourth year, is excommunicated from society of the twice-borns and is known as a *Vrātya* or an outcaste.[8] Thus birth within a recognized circle is not enough. A man has to undergo certain holy sacraments in order to purify his body and mind so that he can prepare himself to take

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part in the secular and the religious activities of his society. Initiation ceremony is the most important sacrament of a twice-born man's life. Prior to this ceremony a person is on the same level as a Śūdra and he cannot perform any religious rites.[9] *Upanayana* initiates a boy in the studies of the Veda, which is an essential requisite of a man's life and specially that of a Brāhmaṇa. An unlettered Brāhmaṇa is looked down upon in society.[10]

The four stages of life

A child leaves his paternal home and goes to live with his preceptor after he has been initiated in the studies of the Veda. Here he has to lead a life of celebacy and discipline, and it is strictly enjoined on all hands, that a person should lead a life of chastity or *Brahmacarya* till the completion of his education.[11] It is for this reason, that the state of studentship is called *Brahmacaryāśrama* by ancient authors and lawgivers. Our ancient sociologists have divided a man's life into four different stages or *āśramas*, and most of them place *Brahmacaryāśrama* at the top of the list. But there are some other authorities who give foremost place to the householder's stage. Thus Āpastamba says[12] that there are four *āśramas*, viz. "the stage of householder, (staying in) the teacher's house, stage of being an ascetic, the stage of being a forest dweller". He is also of the opinion that every man ought to enter this state (householder's) of life, and it is a matter of little or no consequence whether he undergoes other stages of life or

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not. But his ideals do not find favour with other Dharma Sūtra and Dharma Śāstra writers. Gautama,[13] Vasishṭha[14] and Baudhāyana,[15] while naming the aforesaid four *āśramas,* place *Brahmacarya* or the stage of studentship, foremost in the list. Thus their nomenclature comes to *Brahmacārīn, Gṛhastha, Vānaprastha* and *Parivrājaka*. Manu holds the same opinion. According to him a man should live the early part of his life with a teacher, and in the second quarter of his life he should live as a householder after he has wedded a wife.[16] When he has fulfilled his duties as a householder, and his skin becomes wrinkled, his hair turns white and he has seen sons of his sons, then he may resort to the forest.[17] After passing the third part of his life in the forest, he may live as an ascetic during the fourth part of his existence, abandoning all attachments to worldly objects.[18]

A student generally stays in the abode of his preceptor till he finishes his studies, unless some extraordinary circumstance intervenes.[19] Certain duties are prescribed for a student which he must follow while he is undergoing his studies. These are learning the Vedas, fire worship, ablution, living by begging, and devotion to his teacher even at the cost of his own life, or in the absence of his teacher to his teacher's son or to an elder classmate.[20] After a *Snātaka* has completed his education or has gone through the Vedic lore, he may enter the life of a householder (*Gṛhasthāśrama*), marry and settle down as a *Nāgaraka*.[21] But the life of a householder is not open to all, only an educated man is

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eligible for it.[22] Thus Vātsyāyana in his discourse on marriage, emphasizes that it is only an educated man (*śrutavān*), who is to look for a bride.[23] Princes and royal personages were not exempted from this rule. The Śākya prince Siddhārtha was refused the hand of Gopā, by her father Daṇḍapāṇi who thought that the Śākya prince being nurtured amidst ease and luxury had acquired proficiency neither in arts nor was acquainted with the mode of warfare. The prince had to display his skill in the arts of peace and war, and had to prove himself a well informed scholar before he could get the hand of the bride of his choice.[24] It is thus evident that a man had to undergo all round training before he could enter the state of a householder. This fact is also borne out by the episodes of the *svayaṁvaras* of Sītā and Draupadī.

Marriage

When a person has gone through all the tests, that are required for the life of a householder, he decides to choose a bride for himself. According to the ancient lawgivers it is binding on all the four *varṇas* to marry within the fold of their own castes. In other words, that marriage is only considered to be legal, in which both the bride and the bridegroom belong to the same caste.[25] Gautama explicitly states that a householder shall take a wife of equal caste, who has not belonged to another man, and who is younger to himself.[26] Āpastamba is of opinion that if a twice-born man has connection with a woman of different caste then they both commit sin.[27] Vātsyāyana also prefers marriage

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within one's own caste,[28] and he says that love only and not marriage, may be offered to a woman of a higher caste when she is *Svairiṇī* (that is a woman of unrestrained movements).[29] Similar is the case with a woman of a caste lower than one's own.[30]

Intermarriage

In spite of such strict injunctions regarding marriages within one's own caste there are instances of not only intercaste but also inter-racial marriages. Ancient writers from Buddhist time onwards have tabooed intercaste marriages, especially of the *pratiloma* category, yet we find numerous instances of exceptions to this rule. Appian[31] and Strabo[32] inform us about a Graeco-Indian marriage alliance that was contracted between Chandragupta Maurya and the daughter of the Syrian King Seleucus, after the latter was defeated at the hand of the Indian king. In the Mahāvaṁsa Chandragupta Maurya has been represented as a scion of the kshatriya clan called Moriyas, while according to Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta the Moriyas, the ruling class of Pipphalivana, belonged to the Kshatriya caste.[33] Bindusāra and Aśoka, son and grandson of Chandragupta, are also represented in the Divyāvadāna as Kshatriyas. It is therefore obvious that Chandragupta, though a twice-born man of the Kshatriya caste, contracted a marriage alliance with a foreigner. We get another evidence of an inter-racial marriage alliance which was contracted between Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman, a scion of the Śaka Kshatrapa family, and Vāsiṣṭhīputra—Śri Śātakarṇi of the

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orthodox Brāhmaṇical fold. The Junāgaḍh Rock inscription (dated 150 A.D.) of Rudradāman tells us that Rudradāman twice defeated Śātakarṇi, Lord of the Deccan, but did not destroy him on account of the nearness of their relationship (संबंधा विदूरतया). The nature of this near relationship is found in Kaṇheri (Thānā district) Buddhist tank inscription.[34] In this inscription, the Queen of Vāsishṭhīputra Śri Śātakarṇi is represented as the daughter of a Mahākshatrapa whose name begins with 'Ru'. Scholars identify 'Ru' of this inscription with Rudradāman I and Śātakarṇi with Vāsishṭhīputra, Śri Śātakarṇi of the Śātavāhana dynasty. The Śātavāhana dynasty was well-known for the Brāhmaṇical propensity of its members. It is therefore clear that Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi, though belonging to a staunch Brāhmaṇical family, married a girl coming from a foreign stock.

There is another instance of a foreign Indian alliance. In an inscription at Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa,[35] Mahādevī Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā, who has been designated as *Ujenikā-mahārabalikā or ujenikāmahārāja bālikā*, informs us that she erected the pillar for attainment of welfare, happiness and *Nirvāṇa*.[36] Vogel regards her as the consort of Vīrapuruṣadatta, the reigning king in whose regnal year the inscription is dated. It is probably because of this fact that she is called Mahādevī in the inscription, though no mention has been made in the inscription about her real relationship with Vīrapuruṣadatta. She has just been called *ujenikā*

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mahāra-balikā. Among the rulers of the house of Chastana or western Kshatrapas, whose capital was at Ujjain, there was certain preference for personal names containing the name of God Rudra such as Rudradāman, Rudraṣena and Rudrasiṁha. According to Vogel queen Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā belonged to the illustrious house of western Kshatrapas.[37] If we are to accept Vogel's arguments, then we can find here an interesting account of a foreign-Indian alliance. Vīrapuruṣadatta was the scion of an orthodox Brāhmaṇical family. His father Mahārāja Vāsiṭhiputra Ikshvāku Siri Chātamūla performed *Aśvamedha, Vājapeya* and *Agniṣṭoma* sacrifices, and was a liberal donar.[38] So his marriage with Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā—the *ujenikā-Mahāra-baliā,* is a characteristic example of an inter-racial marriage.

Besides these exceptional cases, marriages were generally confined to one's own caste. Gradually, however, mixed marriages, specially those in which the bride was only one step inferior in caste to the bridegroom, were being permitted freely by the lawgivers. Marriage of a Kshatriya woman with a Brāhmaṇa was considered a legal marriage. According to Baudhāyana[39] and Gautama,[40] sons of equal status could be born of such a marrige. Manu says that a twice-born man can have a legitimate wife of a lower caste in addition to the wife of his own caste.[41] Though *anuloma* marriages are thus permitted by ancient authorities, mixed marriages of *pratiloma* category (i.e. between men of lower castes and women of higher castes) are vehemently condemned. Manu calls the offspring, who

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are born in consequence of violation of law (resulting out of *pratiloma* unions), *apadhavaṁsaga*.[42] He says that they should subsist only by those occupations which are reprehended by the twice-borns.[42a]

The caste of the bride and the bridegroom should be the same but the families or the gotras should be different. According to Dharma Śāstra writers there can be no marriage between the closest kins. Āpastamba says that a man should not give his daughter to a man belonging to the same family (gotra).[44] Again according to him a girl should not be married to a person who is related within six degrees on the mother's or father's side.[45] Āpastamba thus, prohibits marriage of a daughter, as has been rightly interpreted by Joily, "with a sagotra (of the father) and a blood-relation (*yonīsaṁbandha*) of the mother,[46]...." Gautama[47] holds the same view as Āpastamba and Manu agrees with them. He says that a twice-born man should marry a girl who is neither a *sapiṇḍa* on the mother's side nor belongs to the same family on the father's side.[48] Gautama goes a step further and explains the position of a *Kshetraja* offspring. He says that no marriage can be contracted with one who is related within six degrees of the begetter.[49] But this particular rule refers, as has been already observed by Bühler, to the case where a husband has made over his wife to another man and the bridegroom stands in relation of a son to the husband of his mother and his natural father (*dvipitā*).[50] Gautama thus, indirectly recognizes the legitimacy of Kshetraja children. Baudhāyana

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also protests again sagotra marriages and says that if a man unintentionally marries a female belonging to his own family (gotra), he shall support her and treat her like his mother.[51] Protests against marriage with blood-relations were thus fairly strong in society.

Cousin marriage in South India

Strangely enough in spite of such vehement oppositions, we find stray references of not only cousin marriages, but also step-sister marriages. Thus Baudhāyana, refers to the custom of cousin marriage as prevailing in the South. He, while enumerating the customs peculiar to different parts of the country, says that the custom peculiar to the south is that the people of that part marry the daughters of their maternal uncles or paternal aunts.[52] Vātsyāyana also refers to this custom. He says that in the Dakshiṇāpatha, if a person is separated from his mother when a child, and is living in a subordinate position in the family of his maternal uncle, should try to gain over the daughter of the uncle, when she is beyond his reach on account of her wealth, or if she has been provisionally betrothed to another.[53] Bühler tells us that it is a prevailing custom among the Karhada Brāhmaṇas of the Deccan.[54] Kumārila Bhaṭṭa has also referred to this custom and inronically says that a *Dakshiṇātya* is overjoyed to get hand of the daughter of his maternal uncle.[55]

The epigraphic records, recovered from the Buddhist sites of Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa, also refer to cousin marri-

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ages. Thus in one of the inscriptions, dated in the 6th regnal year of Vīrapuruṣadatta, a certain lady named Chātisiri or chāṁtisiri, is called the paternal aunt of Vīrapuruṣadatta (the then reigning king), she being the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsiṭhiputra Ikshvāku Siri Chā (ṁ) tamūla—the father of Vīrapuruṣa.[56] But in a later inscription (E), as pointed out by Vogel, Chāṁtisiri refers to the king as her son-in-law.[57] This inscription is dated in the 18th regnal year of Vīrapuruṣadatta. It is thus clear that Vīrapuruṣadatta married his cousin, the daughter of his paternal aunt. Two other inscriptions (C2 and C4) mention two other marriages of Vīrapuruṣadatta. These inscriptions mention one Hamasiri or Haṁasirinikā another *Sodarā* (or *Sahodarā*) *bhaginī* (uterine sister) of Śrī Chā (ṁ) tamūla, Vīrapuruṣadatta's father. Haṁasiri's two daughters Bapisirinikā and Chātisiri (Śāntiśri) are specially mentioned as wives of Vīrapuruṣadatta. He thus married his three cousins, the daughters of his two paternal aunts. Another instance of cousin-marriage is recorded in the Cambay copper plate of Govindarāja iv. It is stated here that Jagatuṅga II, son of Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Kriṣṇa II, who reigned during the last part of the 9th and beginning of 10th century, married Lakshmī the daughter of his maternal uncle Raṇavigraha, son of Kokkola (Haihaya Cedi king). Again Indra III, the son of Jagatuṅga III married Vijamba, the daughter of Aumnadeva, who himself was the son of Arjuna another son of Kokkola.[58] Cousin-marriage was thus a fairly established custom in the south. In view of the fact that this custom is always referred to

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with certain amount distaste by the Brāhmaṇical writers, it is likely that the custom is a legacy of a culture condemned by the orthodox *Āryan* society.

The custom of cousin-marriage seems to have been very much in vogue in south India till recent times. Thurston writes that among *Toreyas* (Canarese fishermen) of Coimbatore, the bridegroom's sister approaches the newly-married couple as they enter the bride's home and prevents them from entering, till she has extracted a promise from them that their child shall marry her child.[59] Similar custom also prevails among Telegu *Balijas* and *Kammas*.[60] Further, among the *Tottiyans* (Telegu cultivators), the custom of marrying boys to their paternal aunts or maternal uncle's daughters, however old they may be, is prevalent. In such a case, the father of the bridegroom becomes the actual husband, while the boy bridegroom plays only nominal part.[61] Similarly among the *Kappiliyians* (Canarese speaking farmers) the right of a man to marry his sister's or aunt's daughter is so strong that small boys are often married to quite grown up women.[62] Among the Reddi's (Telegu cultivators) who have settled in Tinnevely, a young woman of sixteen or twenty years of age, is frequently married to a boy of five or six years or even of more tender age. Among *Kallans* the custom of cousin-marriage is so deep-rooted that failing a cousin, a boy must marry his aunt or niece or some other near relative. If his father's brother has a daughter and she insists upon his marrying her he must do so, whatever the woman's age may be.[63]

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Though Brāhmaṇical writers usually disfavour marriages between close-kins, we find a few references about cousin-marriages and step-sister marriages in Buddhist literature. Thus in the Udaya Jātaka we find prince Udaya marrying his own sister Udayabhaddā, though born of a different mother (*Vemātikābhaginīm*).[64] Instances of cousin marriages are also found in Asilakkhana and Mudupāṇi Jātakas and we get the story of a king, giving away his daughter in marriage to his sister's son (*Bhagineyo*).[65]In Culla-Paduma Jātaka there is a story about a wicked queen, who kills her husband and goes about a-begging with her paramour—a cripple man, whom she represents to be her husband. She says "he is the son of my father's sister given to me by my family, as my own husband."[66] Not only the daughter of the maternal uncle is married, but such marriages are legally recognized in society. Prince Vessantara married his maternal uncle's daughter[67] Princess Maddi (*Matulādhitaram*). This form of cousin-marriage, i.e. with the daughter of maternal uncle (*matulādhita*), and father's sister's son (Pitucchaputta), seems to have been quite in vogue in society as depicted in the *Jātakas*. The other type, i.e. marriage with the daughter of the mother's sister or the son of the father's brother is hardly ever mentioned. In the Mahāvagga[68] we get another instance of the usual form of cousin-marriage, e.g. the marriage between Jyeṣṭhā and Nandi-Vardhana, the elder brother of Mahāvīra. Macdonell and Keith[69] have referred to one such marriage, viz. that of Ajātaśatru, who married his cousin Vajirā. This type of cousin marriage also finds mention in the Epics.

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Thus we are told in the Mahābhārata that Arjuna married Subhadrā, his maternal uncle's daughter.[70] Śiśupāla married his cousin Bhadrā.[71] Sahadev married Vijayā the daughter of Madra rāja—his maternal uncle.[72] Of this popular type of cousin marriage, viz. with that of paternal aunt's daughter, we get an instance in the play of *Bhāsa* entitled Avimāraka. Avimāraka said to have married Kuraṅgī who was both his maternal uncle's and paternal aunt's daughter.[73] The above evidences show that though the custom of cousin marriage was a popular custom of the South, it was known and widely practised in some other parts of the country.

The Dharma-Śāstra writers suggest a considerable disparity in age between the bride and the bridegroom. Generally they favour the idea that the wife should be of an age which comes equal to one-third of her husband's age. The same notion is also found in the Mahābhārata, where it is stated that a man of thirty should marry a girl of ten and a man of twenty-one should marry a girl of seven.[74] Manu prescribes that a man of twenty-four should marry a girl of eight. There was, however, no hard and fast rule regarding the marriageable age of men. Generally men married late because a person had to complete his studies before he could settle down to a family life. Vātsyāyana does not favour the idea of a great difference of age between the bride and the bridegroom and he suggests that bride should be younger to the bridegroom by three years or more.[75] This is quite natural for him because all along his treatise we find him an advocate

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of love matches. He asserts that *Gāndharva* form of marriage is the best and the most respected form because he says, "love is the fruit of all forms of marriages that can be conceived of."[76] His long discourse on marriage through courtship and love making, and the notion about the independence of the girls and boys concerned in the matter of marriage, also suggest the same thing.[77] It is obvious that marriage of this sort generally presupposes a grown up bride and bridegroom and naturally a grown up girl would not like to marry a man three times her age.

Different forms of marriages

As in all other countries, in India, the institution of marriage is of late origin and was preceded by irregular relation between man and woman. We read in the Mahābhārata that Śvetaketu, son of Uddālaka put a stop to the age of unrestricted relationship and introduced the institution of marriage.[78] Mahābhārata contains other allusions about the late origin of the institution of marriage. Even Āpastamba[79] and Baudhāyana[80] refer to an ancient *gāthā*, which alludes to a period when little value was attached to conjugal fidelity of a woman. Meyer says as—"the Vedic literature knows nothing of a promiscuity we should not take these legends to represent the state of affairs in early society.[81] Perhaps by these words Meyer wants to convey that promiscuity was practised even in moderately advanced societies among certain section of the people. The different forms of marriages mentioned by Dharma-Śāstra

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writers, also convey more or less the same idea. Thus the ancient writers while they speak about marriages they only hint at different forms of unions prevailing in society. They do not mean by the term marriage the same thing as we mean by it today. Our point will be more clear by a perusal of different forms of marriages as described by our legal authorities.

The ancient authors generally recognize eight forms of marriages, viz. *Brāhma* (the rite of the Brāhmaṇa) that of the gods (*Daiva*), that of the *Ṛṣis* (*Ārsha*) that of the *Prajāpati* (*Prājāpatya*), that of the Asuras (*Āsura*), that of the Gandharvas (*Gāndharva*) that of the Rākshasas (*Rākshasa*) and that of Piśāchas (*Paiśācha*).[82] Among these eight forms of marriages some are approved by the society, while others though incidentally mentioned, are not approved by the society. Different schools of thoughts hold different opinions about them. Thus Gautama, though he mentions the traditional eight forms of marriages recognizes only the first four forms, viz. *Brāhma, Prājāpatya, Ārsha* and *Daiva,* as legal.[83] Āpastamba recognizes six kinds of marriages. He mentions them as *Brāhma, Ārsha, Daiva, Gāndharva, Āsura* and *Rākshasa* and omits two forms, *Prājāpatya* and *Paiśācha* from his list.[84] According to him the first three, i.e., *Brāhma, Ārsha* and *Daiva* are praiseworthy. *Baudhāyana* also enumerates eight forms of marriages. The first four forms, he says are legal for Brāhmaṇa. Among the four later each succeeding is more sinful than the preceding one; the sixth and the seventh (*Gāndharva* and *Rākshasa*) are lawful for Kshatriyas

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while the fifth and the eighth, i.e. *Āsura* and *Paiśācha* for Vaiśyas and Śūdras.[85] Baudhāyana remarks that according to some, the *Gāndharva* rite is recommended for all as it is based on mutual affection.[86]

Vaisihṭha like Āpastamba, recognizes only six kinds of marriages.[87] He rejects some of the old names and describes them in a different manner. According to him these six marriages are, that of the Brāhmaṇas (*Brāhma*), that of the gods (*Daiva*), that of the *Ṛṣis* (*Ārsha*), that of the Gandharvas (*Gāndharva*), that of the Kshatriyas (*Kshātra*) and that of men (*Mānusha*).[88] Thus two new forms have been introduced by Vasishṭha and they are *Kshātra* and *Mānusha*. According to him 'If they forcibly abduct a damsel destroying her relatives by strength of arms, that is called *Kshātra-rite*."[89] This , as we know, is not a new form of marriage but is only the *Rākshasa* form with a new name. Visishṭha simply changes the name of *Rākshasa* into *Kshātra*. The same is the case with *Mānusha-rite*. He says, "if after making a bargain with the father, a suitor marries a damsel purchased for money, that is called the *Mānusha-rite*"[90] Here also Vasishṭha changes the name of *Āsura* and calls it *Mānusha*. Like Āpastamba he only omits *Prājāpatya* and *Paiśacha* while other forms are the same as before. According to Manu the first six forms are lawful for a Brāhmaṇa, the four last for a Kshatriya and the same four excepting the *Rākshasa-rite*, for a Vaiśya and a Śūdra.[91] Manu authorizes Brāhmaṇas to marry according to *Brāhma, Daiva, Ārsha* or *Prājāpatya* rites. But though he gives a long range to the Brāhmaṇas in

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the matter of marriage, he is actually in favour of *Brāhma* and *Prājāpatya* rites. This is clear from his remark when he says that the gift of daughters among *Brāhmaṇas* is most approved.[92] "For Kshatriya", he says—"the *Gāndharva* and the *Rākshasa* (whether separate or mixed)[93] are permitted by the sacred tradition"[94] In the opinion of Manu, *Ārsa* and *Paiśācha* rites 'must never be used'[95] He considers *Paiśācha* form of marriage as the 'most base and sinful.' Manu says that a person should marry only according to the rite prescribed for the caste to which he belongs, because 'in blameless marriage' he says, 'blameless children are born to men' while 'in blamable (marriages) blamable (offspring).'[96]

Kauṭilya begins his discourse on marriage by saying marriage precedes the other calls of life.[97] He enumerates all the eight traditional forms of marriages. He considers them to be legal and says, of these the first four are ancestral custom of old and are valid on their being approved by the father. The rest are to be sanctioned both by the father and the mother, for they receive the money (*śulka*) paid by the bridegroom for their daughter.[98] Kauṭilya thus in a round about way sactions the custom of bride price.

Vātsyāyana mentions only seven forms, viz. the first four approved forms, *Brāhma, Prājāpatya, Ārsa* and *Daiva,* but he does not discuss their different characteristics. He however, discusses fully the three forms of marriages which result from courtship.[99] These are *Gāndharva, Paiśācha* and *Rākshasa.* Among these he

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gives a key position to *Gāndharva* form of marriage, which according to Vātsyāyana, is the most respected (*pūjita*). Vātsyāyana, thus mentions altogether seven forms and omits the *Āsura rite,* "in which the bridegroom receives a maiden after having given as much wealth as he can afford, to the kinsmen and the bride herself, according to his will."[100] Most of the ancient lawgivers condemn *Paiśācha* form as most contemptible but Vātsyāyana differs from them and he attaches no stigma to it. The commentator of Vātsyāyana interprets his attitude by saying that the *Paiśācha* form though not lawful (*adharma*), is yet better than *Rākshasa,* as the latter involves violence.[101] It is evident that in the time of Vātsyāyana there was considerable freedom in society and the question of matrimonial happiness was placed before everything else, including the rules and conventions about high and low marriages.

Characteristics of different forms of marriages

Brāhma. Giving in marriage of a maiden well-adorned to bridegroom, who was specially invited for the purpose, was known as *Brāhma rite.* According to Jolly this form of marriage "represented originally the form of marriage appropriate for the Brāhmaṇas in contrast to the *Kshātra Vivāha,* abduction of women, the marriage form of the Kshatriyas and the *Mānuṣa Vivāha,* purchase of women, the marriage form of the common people, and only at a later period this form of marriage was connected with name of god Brahman

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and the hierarchy of the eight *Vivāhas* was established on analogy with the hierarchy of gods and demons."[102]

Prājāpatya. In this form the bride was offered according to due rites to the bridegroom, with the explicit intention that they should always be inseparable companions in the discharge of their religious duties. Probably *Prājāpatya* marriage was originally identical with *Brāhma* and it is for this reason that Āpastamba and Vasishṭha do not refer to this form. Gautama mentions *Prājāpatya* as a separate form of marriage. But it is more or less the same as *Brāhma* rite, though Gautama separates it from the former by saying that in this rite the formula is 'fulfil the law conjointly.'[103] Manu also mentions it as a separate form.[104]

Daiva. In this form, the daughter was offered to the officiating priest. According to some smṛti writers this form could not have been an authorized form as no secular matter could be discussed or performed while a sacrifice to Gods was being made.

Ārsha. The giving away in marriage of a maiden for a cow and a bull. According to Manu this should be taken merely as a homage to the bride.[105] In the same connection Manu again remarks, that "(the acceptance of) a fee, be it small or great is a sale (of the daughter)."[106] Jolly thinks that *Ārsha* had already changed into a mock purchase, in which a cow and a bull were given to the bride's father by the bridegroom only for form's sake, which were given back to the bridegroom

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by the latter, as the commentary (on Baud. 1. 20. 4) expressly lays down.[107]*

Āsura. This form of marriage is called plebian form.[108] In it the bridegroom had to pay a bride price before he could get the maiden of his choice and the price was previously settled with the bride's father. This form of marriage was thus, nothing but a purchase of girls in a veiled mannner.

Greek writers on purchase of brides

Aristobulous refers to an unusual custom noticed by him at Takshaśilā. He says that a person, who out of poverty is unable to marry his daughters, expose them in the open markets in the flower of their youth for sale, advertising them by the sound of war-drums and conches and after mutual agreement the alliance follows.[109] Obviously Aristobulous has drawn upon his imagination. He probably had in his mind the sale and purchase of female slaves in his own country, and while in India he must have heard of the *Āsura* form of marriage, in which girls were given in marriage in exchange of a bride price, previously settled upon with the bridegroom. He must have made a confusion between the two because none of our ancient authorities has made the slightest reference to this custom.

**Ārsha.* Megasthenes in Frag. XXVIII (Strabo XV. i. 53–56, pp. 709–10.) probably refers to the *Ārsha* form of marriage when he says "They (Indians) marry many wives, whom they buy from their parents giving in exchange a yoke of oxen." (Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, p. 70–71).

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The Dharma Sūtra and Dharma Śāstra writers are vehement in their opposition to the custom of bride purchase. Baudhāyana refuses to acknowledge the legality of such a marriage. He says that "a female who has been purchased for money is not a wife. She cannot (assist) at sacrifices, offered to the gods or the manes."[110] In the same connection he also points out that a man who sells his daughter commits a great sin, as a consequence of which he destroys his family down to the seventh generation.[111] Vasishṭha also holds the same opinion.[112] Manu's view on this point, by juxtaposition of ideas, seems to be contradictory. As in one place he says that "a man who through avarice takes a gratuity, is a seller of his offspring."[113] Again in another place he says that even for a Śūdra it is prohibited to accept price for his daughter when giving her in marriage, as it would be an act of trading in a veiled form.[114] But curiously enough in another place Manu alludes to the custom of bride price. He says that if a man deceives his would-be son-in-law by showing him a false bride while he gives in marriage another girl then the bridegroom can marry both the girls for the *śulka* (gratuity) he has already paid.[115] Again he says that in case the bridegroom dies after the bride price (*śulka*) has been paid, then his brother can marry the girl.[116] All these contradictory statements of Manu show that he was not favourably inclined towards the custom of bride purchase, which still had its hold on society, and he tried his best to abolish this custom. As Bühler says that in spite of all directions to the contrary, sale and purchase of brides were frequent in Manu's time.

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But one thing appears clear from the remarks of Baudhāyana and Manu, that a crusade against purchase of women had already started in society.

The *Āsura* form of marriage is silently passed over by Vātsyāyana, and his silence is rather significant, as he does not omit the other two barbaric and violent forms, viz. *Paiśācha* and *Rākshasa*. This probably shows as H.C. Chakladar points out, that most probably it was looked down upon in cultured society.[117] But Yāgñavalkya again mentions this form along with other seven forms.[118] Therefore it seems that the purchase of brides though unfavourably looked upon in the upper strata of society, it still continued to be practised in the other strata of society.

Gāndharva. Voluntary union of a maiden with her lover is known as *Gāndharva* form. It has been mentioned by all the ancient lawgivers and it also acquired popularity among the playwrights. Vātsyāyana is rather favourably inclined towards this form. He gives elaborate rules regarding the manner in which it is to be solemnized, viz. by making offerings to the fire and by going round it thrice, i.e. the marriage is performed before *Agni* as witness.[119] According to Jolly this form of marriage "has been a privilege of the nobles" and therefore, he says it "can be connected with *Rākshasa vivāha*."[120] A perusal of the ancient dramatic works and love episodes also convey the same idea. However, there has been a difference of opinion as to whether this form of marriage has to conform to the usual

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marriage rites. The Dharma Sūtra writers are absolutely silent on this point. Vātsyāyana is the first writer, who explicitly states that it is indeed followed by certain holy rites, and is finally sealed by parents on both sides. This, he says, the parents do owing to the fear of public scandal. Baudhāyana also maintains a liberal attitude towards *Gāndharva* marriage. He says that it is open to all castes alike.[121] In the Jātakas we find some instances of the *Gāndharva* form. Thus in the Kaṭṭahari Jātaka, a king falls in love with a Kaṭṭaharikā and in course of time makes her his queen consort and her son a viceroy.[122] Similar stories are also related in Vināthūna Jātaka[123] and Mahāummagga Jātaka.[124]

Rākshasa. In this form the bridegroom makes a previous settlement with the bride and then carries her off forcibly after defeating her friends and relatives. The lawgivers down to Manu prescribe this form for the Kshatriyas, as it compatible with their nature, for power is their attribute.[125] Vasishṭha even changes it's name and calls it *Kshātra-rite.*[126] Mahābhārata also records instances of such marriage, viz. Bhīṣma defeated the king of Kāśī and carried away his daughter Ambā for his brother Vichitravīrya. But this action of Bhīṣma is later condemned by Śiśupāla.

Only five forms of marriages are regarded as regular in the Mahābhārata. These are—*Brāhma,* i.e. according to commentary both *Ārsha* and *Daiva* are to be understood, *Kshātra* and *Gāndharva,* and two unauthorized forms, viz. *Āsura* and *Paiśācha* or *Rākshasa.*[127]

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Mahābhārata thus includes *Rākshasa* in the list of the unauthorized forms of marriages and identifies it with *Paiśācha*. Vātsyāyana on the contrary simply describes this form but does not make any comment good or bad.[128] This shows probably, that *Rākshasa* form of marriage was quite common in society in Vātsyāyana's time.

Paiśācha marriage has been condemned by all authorities. Dharma Śāstra writers, especially Manu, calls it most sinful and the worst form of marriage, which should not be resorted to by any person.[129] Āpastamba and Vasishṭha omit it altogether from their list[130] and Baudhāyana prescribes it only for Vaiśyas and Śūdras.[131] In fact it cannot be called a marriage in the true and orthodox sense of the term, as it still remains a doubtful question whether connection formed in this way was later legalised by religious ceremonies, Vātsyāyana places *Paiśācha* marriage before the *Rākshasa* form of marriage.[132] This probably shows that he prefers *Paiśācha* form more than that of *Rākshasa,* in which violence and blood-shed follow inevitably. But impartially judging, they fall more or less in the same category.

Megasthenes says that the Indians 'marry many wives'.[123] According to him this was a common pratice. But we cannot definitely state that polygamy was the general practice in society. Individual taste and inclination differed, as they do in every age. Some lawgivers directly frame rules regarding polygamy while

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others are silent about it. Vasishṭha and Manu explicitly authorize a twice-born man to marry more than one wife. Vasishṭha even makes a class or caste gradation in the matter. According to him a Brāhmaṇa may marry three wives, a Kshatriya two, and a Vaiśya one only. He also allows a Śūdra only one wife.[134] Baudhāyana holds the same view. He only increases the number in the case of a Brāhmaṇa from three to four, in that of a Kshatriya the number is three, in that of a Vaiśya the number is two, while Śūdras are not permitted to have more than one wife.[135]

Manu permits a twice-born man to have a legitimate wife of a lower caste in addition to his caste wife.[136] Gautama does not openly allow polygamy, but indirectly hints at it in one place.[137] In the society depicted in the Jātakas we find people generally monogamous, though here and there cases of polygamy are not unheard of. Thus we get the story of a Brāhmaṇa who asked for and received two wives, and that too as a boon from a king.[138] Then again there is the story of Prince Surūci, who at first was monogamous, but later on was forced to accept sixteen thousand wives.[139] There are other stories of the same kind. The Epics abound with stories of polygamous marriages. From the general tone of the stories of the Jātakas and the Epics, it seems that polygamy was the privilege of the ruling and well-to-do classes. Commoners generally did not marry more than one wife. Kauṭilya gives a more rational view on this point. He says that a man can only take a second wife superseding his first wife, and that a too after a

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period of eight to twelve years, if his first wife is barren, brings forth only female children and so on. But if he violates this rule he is punishable by the government. Further, the man can take a second wife only after he has paid an adequate monetary compensation to his first wife.[140] He says that the second wife is taken only for the sake of sons, so for this sake he can marry any number of women. Kauṭilya thus, ordinarily does not favour the idea of polygamy and makes it rather difficult for common people to marry second time. But when the question of progeny arises he allows it unhesitatingly.

Polyandry past and present

Āpastamba refers to the custom of marrying a girl to the whole family, which has become obsolete in his days.[141] While Bṛhaspati says that group marriages are only prevalent in 'other land', i.e. in South.[142] It seems that all those customs which were unapproved by the orthodox section of the *Āryan* society came to be associated with the South. The legacy of this peculiar custom was noticed among some of the primitive tribes of South India by Thurston. He points out that among the western Kallans of South India, a woman could be the wife of ten, eight, six or two husbands.[143] The custom of fraternal polyandry, of which we have the glaring example of Draupadī in ancient times, was practised still recent times among the *Todas* of Nilgiri[144] and among *Tiyans* (toddy tapers) of Malabar.[145] The custom also prevailed in Ceylon even in comparatively recent times.[146] Chakladar says that polyandry in the

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case of Draupadī Pāñcāli, may be regadred as an ancient institution of the Pāñchāla country and he supports his view by referring to a statement made by Vātsyāyana.[147] Vātsyāyana states that according to the followers of *Bābhravya,* who belonged to *Pāñchāla,* a woman's chastity may not be respected when she is found to have intimacy with five lovers[148] (in addition to her husband explains the commentary). This shows that five was considered the limit proper for a woman to go. This statement of Vātsyāyana when coupled with Āpastamba's remark that a girl should be given to the whole family shows, that the custom of ployandry though has not been mentioned in clear terms by the Dharma-Sūtra and Dharma Śāstra writers, yet it was quite popular in some parts of the country. Vātsyāyana also points to the same fact while he says that women of *Bāhlīka* or *Balhika* (which the commentary explains as a country in Uttarapatha),[149] like that of the *Strīrājya,* married many youngmen and these youngmen were in the same position as the ladies in the harem in other countries.[150] Vasishṭha perhaps refers to polyandry (particularly the fraternal type), while he says that a younger brother who has married before his elder brother, shall surrender his wife to his elder brother, and he should perform a *Kṛcchra* and *Atikṛcchra* penances, then he (the younger brother) can remarry his wife again.[151]

Indissolubility of marriage

Manu is strongly against divorce. He says that

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neither by sale nor by repudiation a wife can be released from her husband.[152] Thus Manu is of opinion that once a man and wife are united in marriage, they are united for all times and there can be no separation. According to Medhātithi, a wife sold or repudiated cannot become the legitimate wife of another man.[153] This rule probably shows, that in certain cases though the husband sold or repudiated his wife yet this did not amount to dissolution of the marriage vow. Manu in another place says that the desertion of a guiltless wife is a crime, for which a large amount has to be paid as fine.[154] Āpastamba prescribes penance for six months for such a crime.[155] Āpastamba even forbids a man to marry second time, if he has a wife who is willing and able to perform her share of religious duties and who bears sons.[156] Vasishṭha, on the other hand, prescribes that a man must not abandon his wife though she is 'tainted with sin', such as if she is quarrelsome or has left the house and so on.[157] Only in cases where the wife yields herself to gross adultery and unfaithfulness, the husband is authorized to abandon her.[158] Manu holds the same view. He says that a man is justified in abandoning his wife if she is "blemished, diseased or deflowered, and has been given by fraud."[159]

Kauṭilya gives us a correct view on this subject. According to him a woman hating her husband, cannot dissolve her marriage with him against his will. Nor can a man dissolve his marriage with his wife against her will. But if there is mutual enmity, divorce may be obtained (*parasparam dveṣamokshaḥ*). If

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a man apprehending danger from his wife desires divorce (*mokshamichhet*), he shall return to her whatever she has been given (on the occasion of her marriage). If a woman under apprehension of danger from her husband, desires divorce, she shall forfeit her claim to her property.[160] But the unions which are contracted in accordance with the customs of the first four kinds of marriages, cannot be dissolved.[161] In another place he says that abandoned wife has a right to claim "food and clothing (*grāsācchādanam*)" for an unlimited period.[162] Kauṭilya thus makes a practical solution of the problem and tries to protect the interest of both the parties.

A man and wife are bound o observe mutual fidelity. They are the part of united whole. The marriage vow is most sacred, transgression from which is to be meted out with severe punishment in the life to come. This is the high ideal preached by the ancient lawgivers.[163] Most of them prescribe heavy punishments and penances for wives who prove unfaithful to their husbands and are of questionable conducts.[164]

Law of inheritance

There is consensus of opinion among legal writers regarding the law of inheritance, particularly about the preferential share of the eldest. But ther are some writers like Baudhāyana, Kauṭilya, etc. who ordinarily prefer an equal distribution of property, though they also recognize the additional claim of the eldest son of the

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family.[165] The same writers are also in favour of giving a preferential share to a son who possesses good qualities, irrespective of the fact whether he is born of a woman belonging to the next lower caste to that of the husband. Thus Baudhāyana points out that "if there is a son who is of equal caste, and a son of a wife of the next lower caste, the son born of the wife of the next lower caste may take the share of the eldest, provided he be endowed with good qualities."[166] He further says that such a son can become the protector of the rest.[167] Kauṭilya holds the same opinion. But he is not so liberal as Baudhāyana. This is perhaps due to the fact that his treatise was written at a time when the law of primogeniture was gradually taking its hold in society. Kauṭilya says that an *Antara* son of a Brahmaṇa (i.e. the son begotten by a Brāhmaṇa on a woman of next lower caste), shall if endowed with manly or superior qualities take an equal share (with other sons). Similar provisions are being made for the *Antara* sons of Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas.[168]

Though Baudhāyana and Kauṭilya are in favour of an equal distribution and of giving preference to the best qualified son, yet even they along with other lawgivers like Gautama, Visishṭha and Manu recognize the claim of the eldest. Thus Baudhāyana is in favour of giving the best chattel or one part out of ten in excess to the eldest.[169] Kauṭilya enjoins that the eldest son among the Brāhmaṇas shall receive the goats, among Kshatriyas, horses, and among Vaiśyas cattle, while among Śūdras, sheep. In the absence of quad-

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rupeds, the eldest son shall take an additional share of 1/10 of the whole property excepting precious stones.[170] Vasishṭha, Gautama, and Manu give a greater importance to seniority. Vasishṭha is in favour of giving a double share to the eldest son[171] and also a tithe of kine and horses.[172] We find Gautama and Manu more fervent supporters of the seniority theory. According to Gautama the eldest son should receive 1/20 as a preferential share over and above a pair of kine and similar domestic animals, a cart along with a yoke of oxen and a bull. The middle one shall receive one eyed, old hairless and tailless domestic animals, if there are more than one such animal. To the youngest belongs the sheep, corn, iron utensils, house, a wagon with team, as well as one of each remaining animals. The residue shall be equally divided.[173] He further says that the eldest may inherit the whole property.[174] Manu holds the same view. He says that an additional share of the best article or chattel which is particularly good, and also the best of ten animals should be given to the eldest son.[175] He can also inherit the whole property of his father and others shall live under him just as they have been doing under their father.[176] But if a man has several wives, says Gautama, then the additional share of the eldest is one bull (in case he is born of a later married wife).[177] Thus in the views of Gautama and Manu we find clear traces of the law of primogeniture, which later on became the guiding principle of Hindu law of inheritance. But one thing must be noted here, viz. though Manu supports the claim of the first born, yet in another place he observes that if all

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brothers are 'equally skilled in their occupation' then 'there is no additional share'. In that case the paternal property shall be equally divided among all the brothers and "some trifle only shall be given to the eldest as a token of respect".[178] Thus indirectly Manu recognizes the claim of sons who possess good qualities.

Writers like Baudhāyana, Vasishṭha and Kauṭilya, observe caste distinctions even in the matter of law of inheritance. Baudhāyana remarks that if there are other sons born of wives of different castes (*varṇa*), they shall make ten portions of ancestral property and take four (shares), three, two and one, according to the order of the castes.[179] The same ratio of 4. 3. 2. 1 according to the order of castes have also been prescribed in the Arthaśāstra[180] and in the Mahābhārata.[181] Vasishṭha says that the son of Brāhmaṇa wife shall receive three shares, the son of a Kshatriya wife two shares, while the other sons shall inherit equal shares.[182]

Self-acquired property

Thus most of our ancient lawgivers prefer an unequal distribution of paternal estate. Only Āpastamba holds a different view. He condemns an unequal distribution of wealth and regards it only as a local custom.[183] Our ancient legalists have paid little heed to the question of self-acquired property. Āpastamba and Baudhāyana do not even differentiate acquisition from inheritance, as has already been pointed out by Jolly.[184] Only Vasishṭha speaks of self-acquired property of which a double share he says, belongs to the

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earner.[185] Kauṭilya offers us a practical solution. According to him self-acquired property of any of the sons, with the exception of that kind of property which is earned by the help of paternal property, is not divisible.[186] An individual thereby has sole claim to the property earned by him privately, without the aid of the family. But whatever is earned with family's help becomes the property of the family, and it is divided equally among all the members. Sons and grandsons till the fourth generation from the first parent, shall also have prescribed shares (*aṁśabhāja*) in the property which is acquired by means of their undivided ancestral property.[187] Such sons, who bring the ancestral property to a prosperous condition, shall also have shares of the profit.[188]

Sometimes if the head of the family died before he could accomplish the division of his estate among his sons, the eldest son of the family took up the reins and other members of the family lived under him just as they did under their father.[189] Sometimes the fittest among the sons shouldered the responsibility.[190] But this was not always the case. Ordinarily the paternal estate was divided equally, or according to the rule prescribed by law among the various sons of a person, irrespective of the fact whether they lived separately or under the same roof.

Partition of the paternal estate can be made during the life time of the father with the latter's consent or after his death, says Gautama.[191] If a son extort from

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his father against his will, a partition of the family property, then such a son becomes an outcast and is not invited in a *Śrāddha* ceremony.[192] After the death of the father his personal belongings are also divided among his sons. But division of these things are made according to seniority. Thus according to Kauṭilya after the death of the father, his carriage and jewellery go to the eldest son, his bed and seat, bronze plate etc. (in which he used to take his meals) should be given to the middle-most, and black grains, iron (objects) domestic utensils, cows and cart should go to the youngest.[193]

Natural sons and the sons adopted

Craving for son and successor, who can continue the family line and can assist in spiritual merits, was an urgent concern in life. Baudhāyana says a Brāhmaṇa owes a son to his ancestors[194] as a part of his debt to the manes. He further states that a man attains immortality when he begets a son.[195] Such being the state of affairs, if a man had no male issue he naturally tried to make up the deficiency by adopting a son in place of a natural son. Ancient legalists differ in their views regarding adopted sons. Āpastamba does not like adoption of other people's son as substitute for one's own lawful son, and says that 'the gift (or acceptance) of a child and the right to sell (or buy) are not recognized.'[196] Others, like Gautama, Baudhāyana and Vasishṭha, etc. give legal recognition to adopted sons.[197] But according to some, parents have no right to give or receive in adoption an only son.[198] In such

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cases where there are no natural sons, adopted sons may inherit the estate. But if after adoption a legitimate son is born to a man, then the adopted son receives a fourth part of the legitimate son's share.[199] *Savarṇ* sons shall have 1/3 of inheritance and *asavarṇa* sons shall have only food and clothing.[200]

Sons of different designations

Twelve different kinds of sons are being mentioned by ancient writers. Baudhāyana adds two more to the list.[201] Āpastamba is the only lawgiver who is silent about these twelve kinds of sons. These sons are of following designations. (i) *Aurasa*—the legitimate son born of a wife of equal caste. (ii) *Kshetraja*—the son of a wife by another man, appointed for the purpose. According to Kauṭilya, on the death of the begetter, the *Kshetraja* son will be son to both the fathers (i.e. his natural father and that of his adopter), follow the *gotras* of both, offer funeral libations to both, and take possession of the immovable property of both.[202] Gautama, Vasishṭha and Baudhāyana hold the same view.[203] (iii) *Datta*—an adopted son. (iv) *Kṛtrima*—one whom a man makes his son with the boy's consent, and who belongs to the same caste as the adopter. These two types of sons though given different designations are of the same category. (v) *Gūḍhaja*—a son born secretly in the house. (vi) *Apaviddha*—the sons caste-off by his natural parents and adopted by another. (vii) *Kānīna*—the son of an unmarried daughter. (viii) *Sahoḍha*—the son born of woman married while carrying.

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(ix) *Krīta*—the son purchased. (x) *Paunarbhava*—the son of a remarried woman. (xi) *Putrikā-putra*—the son of an appointed daughter. (xii) *Svayaṁdatta*—also known as *upagata,* or the son, who of his own free will offers himself to become the son of another person.

There is a difference of opinion among different schools of thought, regarding the status of the son of an appointed daughter. Manu and Kauṭilya place a *putrikā-putra* on an equal footing with legitimate son,[204] while others include him in the list of heirs, who are entitled to inherit property in default of a legitimate son. Thus Vasishṭha warns the bridegroom who marries a brotherless maiden, by saying that the son born of such a girl will become the son of his maternal grandfather.[205] In Mahābhārata also we find description of twelve kinds of sons but here the nomenclature is slightly different. Thus we get the following list in the Mahābhārata, viz., (i) *Svayaṁjāta*—the son who is born of the legally married wife. (ii) *Praṇīta*—a son who is born of one's wife through the instrumentality of another person. (iii) *Parikṛta*—a son born of *niyoga.* (iv) *Paunarbhava*—the son of a remarried girl. (v) *Kānīn*—the son of an unmarried girl. (vi) *Svairiṇīja*—the son of a married woman who has gone astray. (vii) *Datta*—the son who is given by his own parents. (viii) *Kṛīta*—the son bought. (ix) *Kṛtrima*—the son who gives himself up to another person. (x) *Sahoḍha*—the son of a bride married while carrying. (xi) *Jñātireta*—the son of a relative other than one's own brother. (xii) *Hīna-yonidhṛta*—the son of a woman lower than one's own

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caste.[206] Among all these different kinds of sons those known as *Svayaṁjāta* and *Paunarbhava* were called *Aurasa,* and sons of unmarried girls or *Kānīn*— though not *Aurasa* were known as *Vyavahita Aurasa* sons. *Praṇīta, Parikṛta, Svaiṇṇīja* were called *Kshetraja putras*. They were entitled to inherit property. In another place we get a list of five others sons, viz., *Aurasa, Labdha, Krīta, Pālita* and *Kshetraja*.[207] In another connection we are introduced with twenty different types of sons; the twelve usual types, and over and above that eight others, who are born of unions between males and females of different castes.[208]It is thus evident that sons of all types were freely admitted to the society, irrespective of the fact whether they were legitimate or illegitimate. Some stigma, however, was attached to sons born of unmarried girls. Such sons were not recognized in society. It is for this reason that Kuntī was obliged to cast off her first born Karṇa, who was born while she was still a maiden.[209] In Mahābhārata also we find mention about *Putrikā-putras* who belonged to their maternal grandfathers. For this reason a brotherless maiden was disqualified for marriage, because the son born of such a girl could easily be claimed by his maternal grandfather to continue his line and perform the funeral ceremonies when he died.[210] It is held by some authorities that the sons of unmarried girls could claim the fathership of the man who later married such a girl.[211]

In Mahābhārata thus, we find contradictory statements regarding the social status of sons of unmarried

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girls. On one hand we find such girl mothers casting off their new-born children for fear of social frowns, while on the other hand we find provisions being made to legalise positions of such children. The reason for this apparent contradictions is quite obvious. Mahābhārata being the work of different hands and different periods, it is quite natural that it should contain old world theories combined with new world practices. Though it is ordained in the Mahābhārata that the husband of a girl, who had begotten sons while in her maidenhood, should be regarded as father of all her sons, yet we find in actuality Vyās though a *Kānīn,* was not regarded as Śāntanu's son but was called Satyabatī-suta or Pārāśarya. But other kinds of sons like *Kshetraja* and *niyoga* offspring were freely admitted in the society and they were given the same status as that of lawful children.

Duties of husband and wife

A man and wife once united in marriage are united for good and there could be no separation under any circumstance. It has been stated thus that neither by sale nor by repudiation a wife is released from her husband.[212] This connotes according to Medhātithi, the commentator of Manu, that even though a wife is sold or repudiated by her husband she cannot become the legitimate wife of another,[213] as the marriage tie is indissoluble. Mutual fidelity of husband and wife must continue till death and thereby they can discharge the highest duty of their life.[214] They must try their utmost so that their mutual fidelity remains unviolated.[215]

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Man and wife are co-sharers of joys and sorrows of life and they are destined to discharge certain duties and obligations of life. It has been stated that from the time of marriage the husband and wife together perform religious acts. They share the reward of such acts together and they both have right of possession over the wealth of the family . Even a wife can spend their joint property in the absence of the husband if the occasion so arises.[216] But a woman is not authorised to perform any religious ceremony, viz., a sacrifice, or undertake any vow or fast independently of her husband.[217]

Pāṇini derives the various terms used for a wife and explains their significance in life. Thus according to him the word *patnī* could only be applied to a wife who took part in religious functions. The husband and wife had to perform certain religious rites and ceremonies jointly and this entitled the wife to enjoy the epithet of *patnī**[218] It was denied to a woman who was not properly married. It is for this reason, that Rāma was obliged to perform sacrifices with a golden image of Sītā by his side,[219] because without the wife's participation no religious rite could be performed. The wife was called *bhāryā,* i.e. one who could be wooed freely without restriction (*anirodha*).[220] The term jāyā was used to indicate ideal motherhood. In the same sense it has been used in the Mahābhārata.[221] The

* Patañjali commenting on Pāṇinī's rule IV.i 33, says that since a Śūdra himself has no right to perform religious sacrifices, his wife can be called *patnī*—because here the word has no significance.

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wife was also known as *jāni* for e.g. *Yuvajāni* and *Vṛddhajāni*.[222] She was called *Pativatnī* because she remained the mistress of the household as long as her husband lived.[223]

We also come across certain epithets for husbands, which give us an idea about the duties and functions of husbands. Thus it has been stated in the Mahābhārata that because a husband undertakes the maintenance of his wife he is called *bhartā* and *pati*.[224] And because he gives a son to his wife he is known as *Varada*.[225] It is the primary duty of the husband to provide maintenance to his wife, hence the wife is called *bhāryā*.[226] Manu says that the husband receives his wife from the Gods so he should always support her, provided she is faithful to him.[227] After they are once united in marriage it is their most sacred duty to procreate children and perform religious rites conjointly. For men are created for propagating the race and women for procreation, therefore it is declared in the Vedas that the wife shares in common (with the husband), the performance of religious duties.[228] But the rule is applicable only to that wife who is of the same caste as her husband. It is stated that among twice-born men, the wife of equal caste alone attends her husband and assists him in his daily sacred rites.[229] If a man employs a wife of any other caste to do the above mentioned works, while the wife of equal caste is present, then he will be considered no better than a *Caṇḍāla*, though he may be a Brāhmaṇa.[230] According to Vasishṭha, this prohibition applies only to a woman who

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belongs to Śūdra caste. He says that a woman belonging to the dark *varṇa* (i.e. a Śūdra) is meant only for pleasure and not for performance of religious rites.[231]

Ancient lawgivers thus acknowledge wife's right of participation in the religious rites and ceremonies along with husband. But they do not like the idea that anything should be done independently by the wife. They enjoin a life of complete dependence for wife. It is thus stated that the foremost duty even of weak husband, is to guard his wife.[232] But as no man can guard his wife completely by force he should try to divert her from evil inclinations. This he can do by employing her in the examination, collection and expenditure of his wealth, keeping the house clean, engaging her attention in the fulfilment of religious duties, preparation of food and in looking after the household utensils.[233] There are certain things which contribute to the ruin of women. These are drinking spirituous liquor, associating with wicked people, separation from husbands, rambling abroad, sleeping in odd hours.[234] It is the duty of their husbands to guard them against such evils, so that the purity of their family may not be soiled.[235] The husband even possessed the right of inflicting mild chastisements to his wife with a view to correct her. Thus he could scold her by calling her names, or could strike her three times either with a bamboo-bark, with a rope or with the plam of his hand.[236]

According to ancient legalists, a wife had no indi-

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vidual right of her own. She should remain under the complete sway of her husband. It is expressly stated by Manu, that a woman has no separate qualities of her own. She assumes the qualities of the man with whom she is united, just as a river assumes the qualities of ocean.[237] Though the husband had much rights over his wife she too had certain claims upon her husband. Thus a woman who was superseded by another wife, had a right to claim maintenance, and if it was for an unlimited period, then she was given as much food and clothing as was necessary, or more in proportion to the income of her husband. If the period was limited, then she was given a certain amount of money, fixed in proportion to the income of the husband. But if after separation she lived with a member of her father-in-law's family or lived independently then she could not sue her husband for maintenance.[238] Kauṭilya even allowed a woman to abandon her husband if he had a questionable character, or if he lived abroad for a long time, turned a traitor to the king, or endangered her life.[239] Manu on the other hand ordains, that the wife should always worship her husband even though the latter is destitute of virtue, or is devoid of good qualities.[240] She must always look after odds and ends in her house and be economical in expenditure.[241] She should obey her husband as long as he lives and should cling to his memory after his death.[242] Manu further says that if the wife shows disrespect to her husband then she will be censured in her present existence, and in next life she shall be born in the womb of a jackal and will be subjected to all sorts of torments and diseases.[243] It is the

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duty of her husband to provide for her maintenance while he goes out on a journey, and the wife must subject herself to restraints. But if her husband departs without providing for her, then she may subsist herself by blameless manual work.[244]

Vātsyāyana also gives us a picture of ideal ancient Indian wifehood. We are being told that she must attend on her husband with love and devotion and should minister to all his personal needs. She should not do anything that would cause her husband's suspicion against her fidelity. She should look after the daily religious rites of the house and undertake the management of the family, with her husband's permission. She should prepare a budget for the whole year and regulate the expenditure according to the annual income.[245] In short, she plays the part of a perfect housewife and employs her leisure in spinning cotton and also doing some weaving.

It is thus evident from the statements of Dharma Sūtra writers, Manu, Kauṭilya and others, that the husband held an exalted position in the family. He had more rights than duties and his voice was the law in all household affairs. The wife on the other hand had more duties than rights. She remained in complete surveillance of her husband and had to obey him with all meekness. But with the permission of her husband she could become the mistress of her household and along with her husband she fulfilled all the joint rights and duties of the family. During this period the con-

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ception of ideal wifehood had considerably deviated from the Ṛgvedic expression '*jāyedastam*' or 'wife is the home',[246] still we find the domestic life and sentiment rotated to some extent round the wife.

Relics of some unorthodox forms of marriage

It seems that relics of some unorthodox forms of marriage survived in India till recent years. Thurston's 'Ethnographic Notes in Southern India', the glossary based on the census report for the Punjab 1883 by Ibbetson and census report for the Punjab 1892 by Maclagan, provide us with many interesting instances of such marriages. Jāt marriage customs, as related by Thurston, show a close reflection of *Āsura* form of marriage. Here a pecuniary compensation was usually given by the bridgroom to the bride's father. While the Kulu marriages were of three kinds. According to one account some of the usages in vogue were as follows :

(i) *Brāhma* } resorted to by twice-born
(ii) *Ārsha (Āsura)* } castes.
(iii) *Gāndharva* by low castes.[247]

Another strange custom seems to have prevailed in certain parts of the Punjab. According to which a bride was wrapped up in a blanket and was taken under the bridegroom's horse,[248] when the party departed from the bride's house. The custom was known as *Ghori*. Possibly the custom served as a relic of ancient marriage by capture or *Rākshasa* form of marriage. In such a marri-

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age, its was quite natural to receive some sort of resistance both from the bride and her relatives. So precautions were taken to deceive her relatives and keep her away from harm's way. Traces of this form of marriage were found in South India in the shape of a mock fight between bride and bridegroom's parties before the marriage ceremony took place. Thus among *Khonds*—a hill tribe of Ganjam, a man could choose his bride from among the women of any *mutah* (village), other than his own. After the marriage was settled the bride was taken towards the bridegroom's village, carried on her uncle's back. She was covered with a red blanket and was accompanied by a batch of young girls. On the road, at the village boundary, the procession was met by the bridegroom's party and the young men of his village. Each was armed with a bundle of long thin bamboo sticks. The young women of the bride's village at once attacked the other party with sticks, clods of earth, stones, etc. A mock running fight of this sort was kept on till the brigegroom's village was reached, and then the bridegroom's uncle snatching up the bride carried her off to her husband's house.[249] According to one account as soon as the bride entered the bridegroom's house, two enormous bracelets of brass, each weighing from twenty to thirty pounds were put on her wrists. This was done to prevent her from running away to her old house, observed Thurston. On the third day the bracelets were removed.[250] Here we get a clear picture of ancient *Rākshasa* form. The custom of carrying off the bride also existed among the *Kois* (cultivating hill

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tribe) of the Godāvarī district. According to Rev. J. Cain, a young man of this tribe when desirous of marriage entered into an arrangement with the parents of a girl of his choice. But when he was too poor to do this, he secured the consent of the guardian of village after propitiating him with few rupees and liquor. After this was done the bridegroom and his party waited for a favourable opportunity and when the girl came outside her village to fetch water or wood or if she was left alone in the house, they carried her off.[251] The same custom of carrying off the bride with some sort of resistance was also practised by *Savaras* (hill tribes of Ganjam).[252]

Traces of another ancient form of marriage, viz., *Paiśācha*, which was considered even in ancient times as the worst form, survived among the *Mudavares*. These people said to have migrated from Tamil country to Travancore. Among them after a marriage was settled, the bridegroom forcibly carried away the maiden from her mother's house, when she came out for fetching water or firewood. He lived with her for few days or weeks in a secluded place or in a forest, and after that they returned unless they had already, been found by their relatives and brought back.[253]

Marriage through bride price was also known among some of the South Indian tribes. Thus among *Khonds* (of Ganjam), the bride was looked upon as an article of commerce and was purchased with *gontis*. A *gonti* might be one of such thing as a buffalo, a pig or

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a brass pot. The usual price, paid by the bridegroom's father for the bride, was twenty or thirty *gontis*.[254] The contracting parties among the hill tribes known as *Uralis* of Coimbatore, sat on a plank with their fingers linked. Then the bride money was paid to the bride's father and milk money to the bride's mother.[255]

The *Chunchus,* a forest tribe of Kurnul (Madras Presidency), believed in clandestine unions. The couple either ran away at night and returned next day as man and wife or they used to go round a bow and arrow planted in the ground and their relatives threw rice on them and blessed them.[256] Here we find a relic of the ancient *Paiśācha* form of marriage. A survival of the marriage by capture was found in a curious custom observed in Bhimani in Hisar District, by Coldstream.[257] Here a short stick, bearing cross arms with five or seven uprights on it, each a few inches high and rudely cut to imitate a human figure, was made. The whole thing resembled the end of a clumsy wooden rake with long teeth. It was stuck into the wall above or to one side of the doorway. It was called *tauran* or *toran.* This was made just before the arrival of the bridegroom, who was known as *naushah, nausho* or *nosho* (literally meaning a new King). When the bridegroom arrived the bride's house, he struck the *tauran* with a stick and smashed it to pieces. It was considered an excellent omen. This travesty of human figure perhaps represented bride's relatives and therefore it had to be destroyed before the bride was won.

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It is thus clear that, though the various forms of ancient Indian marriages mostly fell into disuse in the upper strata of society, yet some unorthodox replicas continued to remain in vogue till recent years in backward sections of society.

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35. Inscription on the 5th pillar of the southern row B. 5. Eph. Ind., Vol.XX (1929–30), p. 4.
36. Eph. Indica, Vol. XX, p. 19.
37. Ibid., Vol. XX, pp. 4–5.
38. Ibid., Vol. XX, p. 20.
39. B.D.S., 1. 9. 17. 3 footnote and 1. 8. 16. 6.
40. G.D.S., IV. 16.
41. Manu, III. 44.
42. Ibid., X. 46.
43. Ibid., X. 46.
44. A.D.S., II. 5. 11. 15 (Gotras may be of two kinds, *Vaidika* and *Laukika*. *Vaidika* gotras denote persons distinguished by the same family name or known to be descended from the same ancestor. Manu, III. 5, footnote: Yagñ., I. 33; Indian Studies, X. 75).
45. A.D.S., II. 5. 11. 16.
46. Jolly, 'Hindu Law and custom', pp. 137–138.

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47. G.D.S., IV. 3. 5.
48. Manu, III. 5.
49. G.D.S., IV. 4.
50. Ibid., IV. 4 footnote.
51. B.D.S., II. 1. 1. 37.
52. Ibid., 1. 1. 2. 3.
53. Kāmasūtra, p. 200.
54. S.B.E., Vol. XIV, p. 146.
55. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa quoted by Govindasvāmin in his commentary on Baudh, dh. Sūtra, Mysore edn., p. 8.
56. Eph. Indica, Vol. XX, p. 17.
57. Ibid., Vol. XX, pp. 21 and 4.
58. Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 38.
59. Ethnographic notes in S. India by Thurston, E., p. 16.
60. Ibid., p. 17.
61. Madras Census Report, 1901 (Ethno. Notes, p. 52).
62. Ethno. Notes, p. 52.
63. Manual of the Madras district (Ethno. Notes, p. 53).
64. Jāt., IV, p. 105 (Eng. Trans. IV, p. 66).
65. Jāt., I., p. 475; II, p. 327 (Eng. Trans. I, p. 277; II, p. 224).
66. Jāt., II, p. 119 (Eng. Trans. II, p. 81).
67. Jāt., VI, p. 486.
68. Mahāvagga, VIII. 1. 2. 3.
69. Vedic Index, I. 475.
70. Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva, II. 3 and 6 and Ādiparva, I. 95.30.
71. Mahābhārata, Sabhā., 45. 11 (Bangavāsi edition by Panchanan Tarkaratna).
72. Ibid., Ādiparva, 95. 80.
73. Pusalkar, 'Bhāsa', p. 154.

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74. Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparva, 13. 44. 14. collated by Sanskrit College, Calcutta by Nimai Ch. Siromani and Nanda Gopal Pandit).
75. Kāmasūtra, Benares edn., p. 184.
76. Ibid., p. 223.
77. Studies in Vātsyāyana's, Kāmasūtra by Chakladar, H.C., p. 132 ff.
78. Mahābhārata, I. 122. 4 ff (Sanskrit College, Calcutta).
79. A.D.S., II. 16. 13. 7.
80. B.D.S., II. 2. 34.
81. Meyer, Das Weib, p. 92, footnote 3 (Jolly, 'Hindu Law and Custom,' p. 106).
82. Manu, III. 21.
83. G.D.S., IV. 14.
84. A.D.S., II. 5. 11, 17–20, II. 5. 12. 1 and 2.
85. B.D.S., I, 11. 20, 10, 12 and 13; Viṣṇu, XXIV, 27, 28 and Vaish., I. 29. 34 (Baudhāyana says that Vaiśyas and Śūdras are not particular about the caste of their wives, B.D.S., I. 11. 20. 14).
86. B.D.S., I. 11. 20. 16.
87. V.D.S., I. 29.
88. Ibid., I. 28. 29.
89. Ibid., I. 34.
90. Ibid., I. 35.
91. Manu, III. 23 (S.B.E., Vol. XXV).
92. Ibid., III. 35.
93. According to Bühler (S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 80) when a girl is forcibly abducted from her father's house after previous understanding with her lover that can be termed as mixed.
94. Manu, III. 26.
95. Ibid.
96. Manu, III. 42.

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97. Kauṭilya, Arthaśāstra, Eng. Trans. by Shamaśāstri, BK III, Chap. II, p. 192.
98. Ibid., p. 193.
99. Studies in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra by Chakladar, H.C., pp. 137–140.
100. Manu, III. 36.
101. Kāmasūtra, Vātsyāyana, Benares edition, p. 223.
102. Jolly, J., 'Hindu Law and Custom', p. 117 (Tagore Lect., p. 74 ff, Hopkins, Loc. cit.).
103. G.D.S., IV. 7.
104. Manu, III. 30.
105. Ibid., III. 51–54.
106. Ibid., III. 53.
107. Jolly, J., 'Hindu Law and Custom', p. 113.
108. Ibid., p. 112.
109. Quoted by N. Śāstri 'Age of the Nandas and Mauryas', Chap. III., p. 103.
110. B.D.S., I. 11. 21. 2.
111. Ibid., I. 11. 21. 3 and II. 1, 27.
112. V.D.S., I. 37, 38.
113. Manu, III. 51.
114. Ibid., IX. 98 ff.
115. Ibid., VIII. 204.
116. Ibid., IX. 97.
117. 'Studies in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra', Chakladar, H.C., p. 141.
118. Yagñ., I. 61.
119. Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana, Benares edn., pp. 219-20.
120. Jolly, J., 'Hindu Law and Custom', p. 112.
121. B.D.S., I. 11. 20. 16.
122. Jāt., II., p. 134 ff (Eng. Trans. J., I., p. 28).

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123. Jāt., II., pp. 225–6 (Eng. Trans. J., II, p. 156).
124. Jāt., VI, p. 364 ff.
125. B.D.S., I. 11. 20. 12.
126. V.D.S., I. 34.
127. Mahābhārata, 13. 44. 3 ff.
128. Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana, p. 222.
129. Manu, III. 25.
130. A.D.S., II. 5. 11. 17–20; II. 5. 12. 1 and 2 and Vasish., I. 29.
131. B.D.S., I. 11. 20. 13.
132. Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana, pp. 221–222.
133. Megasthenes, Frag. XXVII ('Anct. India as described by Classical writers', p. 70).
134. V.D.S., I. 24–25; Manu, III. 13; Yagñ., I. 54.
135. B.D.S., I. 8. 16. 2–5.
136. Manu, III. 44.
137. G.D.S., XXVIII. 14.
138. Jāt., IV, pp. 97–99 (Eng. Trans. J. IV, p. 63).
139. Jāt., IV., p. 320 (Eng. Trans. J. IV, p. 200).
140. Kauṭ., Arthaśāstra, BK. III., Chap. II. p. 195.
141. A.D.S., II. 10. 27. 2–3 ff.
142. Tagore Law lectures, 1883 by Jolly, J., p. 155.
143. Thurston, E., 'Ethnographic notes in S. India,' p. 108–9.
144. Ibid.
145. Ibid.
146. Ibid., p. 112.
147. 'Studies in Vatsyāyana's Kāmasūtra', Chakladar, H.C., p. 6.
148. Kāmasūtrā of Vātsyāyana, Benares edn., p. 68.
149. Ibid., p. 125.

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150. Ibid., p. 140.
151. V.D.S., XX. 7 and 8; XX. 9 and 10 and Viṣṇu, LIV. 16.
152. Manu, IX. 46.
153. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 335, footnote 46.
154. Manu, VIII. 389; Viṣṇu, V. 163; Nārada, XII. 95.
155. A.D.S., I. 10. 28. 19.
156. Ibid., II. 5. 11. 12.
157. V.D.S., XXVIII. 2–3.
158. Ibid., XXI. 10.
159. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 340; Manu, IX. 72, 73; B.D.S., II. 2. 4. 6; Manu, IX. 81.
160. Kauṭilya, Arthaśāstra, Trans. by Shamaśāstri, BK III, Chap. III.
161. Ibid. and Nārd., 12. 90.
162. Kauṭilya, Arthaśāstra, BK III, Chap. III.
163. A.D.S., II. 10. 27. 6.
164. V.D.S., XXI. 6–8 and Manu, IX. 84, IX. 77, VIII. 299.
165. B.D.S., II. 2. 3. 3. and 5; Kauṭ., Artha., BK III., Chap. V. (Trans., p. 204).
166. B.D.S., II. 2. 3. 12; Colebrooke, V; Dīg. Nik., CLVII, Dāyabhāga, IX. 15.
167. B.D.S., II. 2. 3. 13; Colebrooke, Loc. Cit.
168. Kauṭilya, Arthaśāstra, BK III, Chap. VI. 163.
169. B.D.S., II. 2. 3. 4–6.
170. Kauṭilya, Arthaśāstra (Eng. Trans.), BK. III., Chap. VI. 162.
171. V.D.S., XVII. 42.
172. Ibid., XVII. 43; Colebrooke, Digest, *Dāyabhāga*.
173. G.D.S., XXVIII. 5–9.
174. Ibid., XXVIII. 3, Colebrooke, *Dāyābhāga*, III. 1. 15.

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175. Manu, IX. 114.

176. Ibid., IX. 105.

177. G.D.S., XXVIII. 14.

178. Manu, IX. 115.

179. B.D.S., II. 2. 3. 10; Vasish., XVII. 48–50; Viṣṇu, XVIII. 1–5.

180. Kauṭilya, Artha. (Eng. Trans.), BK. III, Chap. VI. 163.

181. Mahābhārata, XIII. 47. 4. ff.

182. V.D.S., XVII. 48–50.

183. A.D.S., II. 6. 14. ff.

184. Jolly, 'Hindu Law and Custom', p. 167.

185. V.D.S., XVII. 51.

186. Kauṭilya, Arthaśāstra (Eng. Trans.), BK. III, Chap. V. 160.

187. Ibid., BK. III, Chap. V. 160.

188. Ibid.

189. G.D.S., XVIII. 3; A.D.S., II. 6. 14. 6; Manu, IX, 105–110; Mahābhārata, XIII. 105, 16–17.

190. B.D.S., II. 2. 3. 13; Nārada, 13. 5.

191. G.D.S., XXVIII. 1–2; B.D.S., II. 3.8 Nārada, III. 3.

192. G.D.S., XV. 19.

193. Kauṭilya, Artha. (Eng. Trans.), BK III, Chap. VI. 162.

194. B.D.S., II. 9. 16. 7.

195. V.D.S., XVII. 1.

196. A.D.S., II. 6. 13. 11; Haradatta thinks that Āpastamba's rule can refer only to the gift or sale of an eldest son (S.B.E., Vol. II., p. 132 footnote).

197. G.D.S., XXVIII. 32; B.D.S., VII. 5. 4; V.D.S., XVII. 26, 30, 33, 36, 37, 38.

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198. B.D.S., VII. 5, 4.

199. Ibid., VII. 5. 16.

200. Kauṭilya, Artha. (Eng. Trans.), BK. III, Chap. VII. 164. by *Savarṇa* son is meant a son begotten by a Brāhmaṇa on a wife of next lower caste. Such a son is also called an *antaraputra* (Kauṭ., BK. III., Chap. VII. 165.

201. B.D.S., II. 2. 3. 14–30.

202. Kauṭ., Artha. (Eng. Trans.), BK. III. 164 and B.D.S., II. 2. 3. 18.

203. G.D.S., XVIII. 13; V.D.S., XVII, 64 and Yagñ., II. 127; B.D.S., II. 2. 3. 18.

204. Manu, IX. 127; Kauṭilya (Eng. Trans.), BK. III, Chap. VII.

205. V.D.S., XVII. 17.

206. Mahābhārata, Ādi., 120; 33–35 (Cal. Sansk. College edn.)

207. Ibid., Ādi., 74. 100.

208. Ibid., 49th Chap.

209. Ibid., 111, 22.

210. Ibid., Anuśāsanaparva, 44, 15.

211. Ibid., Udyogaparva, 140, 8 (Ref. Commentator Nilakantha).

212. Manu, IX. 46.

213. Ibid., footnote.

214. Ibid., IX. 101.

215. Ibid., IX. 102.

216. A.D.S., II. 6, 14, 17–19.

217. Manu, V. 155.

218. Pāṇini, IV. 1, 33.

219. Rāmāyaṇa, VII. 19, 25.

220. Pāṇini, III. 1, 101.

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221. Mahābhārata, Ādi., 74, 37; Manu, IX. 8.
222. Pāṇini, V. 4. 134.
223. Ibid., IV. 1. 32.
224. Mahābhārata, Ādi., 104, 30; Śāntiparva 265, 37, Aśva., 90, 52.
225. Ibid., Aśva., 90–53.
226. Ibid., Śāntiparva, 265, 55.
227. Manu, IX. 95.
228. Ibid., IX. 96.
229. Ibid., IX. 86.
230. Ibid., IX. 87.
231. V.D.S., XVIII. 18.
232. Manu, X. 6.
233. Ibid., IX. 10. 11.
234. Ibid., IX. 13.
235. Ibid., IX. 7.
236. Kauṭilya, Arthaśāstra, BK III, Chap. III, p. 197; Manu, VIII. 299; 300.
237. Manu, IX. 22.
238. Kauṭ. Arthaśāstra, BK III., Chap. III, pp. 196–7.
239. Ibid., p. 196.
240. Manu, V. 154.
241. Ibid., V. 150.
242. Ibid., V. 151.
243. Ibid., IX. 30.
244. Ibid., IX. 75.
245. 'Studies in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra', Chakladar, H.C., pp. 172, 175, 176.
246. Ṛg. Veda, III. 53–54.
247. Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N. W. Frontier Province, Vol. I., p. 795.

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248. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXIX, Aug. 1900, p. 236.
249. Ethno. Notes in S. India by Thurston, E., p. 9.
250. Ibid., p. 11.
251. Ind. Ant., Vol. V, 1876.
252. Ethno. Notes in S. India by Thurston, E., p. 18.
253. Ibid., p. 13.
254. Ibid., pp. 8–9.
255. Ibid., p. 82.
256. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXV, May 1896, p. 144.
257. Ibid., p. 260.

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Chapter III

STATUS OF WOMEN

Ancient literature of our country, both general and legal, lack unanimity of views regarding the question of status of women in society. As such it is rather hazardous to draw up an accurate picture of their position in ancient Indian society. Their status in life, since the beginning of creation, has been a subject of ameliorations and modifications. There have been ups and downs in their social status, but these ups and downs helped very little to bring about a radical change in their status. Reformers from age to age have tried, no doubt, to assign them a definite position in life, but in spite of their honest endeavours, it remained a baffling problem to adjust theories with practice. Manu, one of our chief authorities on this subject, is also a glaring example of inconsistency in the matter. But despite his wavering attitude, Manu is very firm about one thing, he could never cherish the idea of women enjoying an independent status in life. According to him a woman has to lead a life of dependence throughout her life, seeking protection of either her father, husband or son.[1] But this condescending attitude towards women cannot wholly be ascribed to Manu, because generations of writers before as well as contemporaneous to him, have expressed the same views. In Mahābhārata we come across quite a number of maxims

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which suggest that women were never considered fit for acquiring independence. It is stated in one place, that a woman should never be independent. She should be protected in childhood by her father, in her youth she should live under the protection of her husband and in her old age her sons should look after her.[2] The same verse has been quoted by Manu.[3] In the Mahābhārata we find other verses conveying the same idea. Thus it is said that never in this world women acquire independence,[4] and it is the wish of the Lord Prajāpati that women should never be independent.[5] Early Dharma Sūtra writers, Baudhāyana and Vasishṭha, harp on the same notion. Baudhāyana says that a woman is never fit for independence,[6] and to confirm his statement he quotes a Vedic passage which declares that women are considered to be destitute of 'strength and portion'.[7] But Colebrook asserts that this verse is confusing and spurious because the manuscripts differ in their wordings.[8] Thus Baudhāyana's attempt to quote Veda as authority for the confirmation of his view, proves futile. Vasishṭha, like his predecessor, enjoins complete dependence of women and according to him "a woman is not independent, the males are her masters."[9] Like Baudhāyana, Vasishṭha also quotes a Vedic verse in support of his view. Manu elucidates this point further.[10]

Indian women outside India

In spite of such strict injunctions, there are instances which show that women often enjoyed considerable freedom. An Indian woman called Basusa even went

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to an alien land and started business there. It is stated that she kept an inn at Kish under police supervision. This was done, when after the subjugation of western India, which was later on formed into the satrapy of Hindukush, trade by sea was opened up.[11] It is thus clear that women did not always lead a life of complete subordination, though volumes have been said about the lack of independence of women. Athenaeus informs us that in the procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus Indian women, Indian hunting dogs, Indian cows, and other strange sights were to be seen.[12] Indian women who participated in the procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus were probably slave girls, as there was regular traffic of slave girls between India and abroad.[13] Saṁghamitrā, the daughter of Aśoka, went outside India on a peace mission. Women in ancient India thus, not only had freedom of movement but they carried on their activities both inside and outside the country.

At home they forsook material comforts and wandered about in quest of truth. In Mahābhārat we come across the story of a Brahmavādinī Sulabhā who travelled far and wide, exchanging spiritual thoughts with scholars, and finally she surprised the king of Mithilā by the depth of her knowledge.[14] In Buddhist literature, we find women leaving their hearth and home and joining Buddhist Order for spiritual pursuits. In personal matters, particularly in the matters concerning marriage, they had considerable freedom. Gautama points out that if a marriageable girl was not

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given in marriage in proper time she could unite herself with a blameless man of her own accord.[15] In the Epics we get numerous instances of self-choice of husbands or *svayaṁvaras*. Though from the contemporary literature it becomes clear, that a woman enjoyed some independence in different spheres of life, yet her world rotated round the domestic sphere. Her primary duty was to look after the management of household affairs. It has been enjoined that she should regulate the expenditure of the family, should be careful in keeping the house and the hearth clean and be economical in her habits. She must cheerfully and cleverly manage her family affairs.[16] Women were thus considered best suited for domestic duties only. But this does not necessarily imply that they were disregarded and callously treated. On the contrary ancient lawgivers put every emphasis on the fact that women should be honoured and properly treated. Manu says, 'where women are honoured there the gods are pleased; but where they are not honoured, no sacred rite yields any reward,'[17] The same idea is also found in the Mahābhārata.[18] Manu further says, that where the female relations live in grief, that family wholly perishes, but where they are not unhappy that family ever prospers.[19]

Side by side these admonitions, we sometimes find a curiously contradictory attitude. The very birth of a female child in the family was viewed with displeasure and concern. In the Rāmāyaṇa we thus find an unwelcoming attitude towards a female child.[20]

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Opposite views have also been expressed. In the Mahābhārata it is stated that a child is same as one's own self, and therefore a daughter should be treated in the same manner as a son.[21] Our ancient writers are not in the habit of setting great value on the standard of female morality. They are considered fickle in their nature and frail in their habits. Manu expressly states that it is the nature of women to lead men astray, and for that reason wise men should never remain unguarded in the company of women.[22] He makes special provisions so that women may be guarded against their evil inclinations. He advises a man to carefully guard his wife in order to preserve the purity and integrity of his family, otherwise she will bring sorrow to two families (viz., that of her father and her husband). Since it is not possible to completely guard a woman by force, she could be guarded by various expedients, viz., by engaging her attention in keeping the household neat and tidy, performing religious duties so on and so forth.[23] The above remarks only emphasize the prevailing notion about the undependable nature of women.

Not only the Indian sociologists, but even foreign writers did not entertain a very high opinion of female morality. Nearchus states that Indian women, if possessed of uncommon discretion, would not stray from virtue for any reward short of an elephant. According to him Indians did not consider it any disgrace to a woman to grant her favours for an elephant. But it was rather regarded as a high compliment to the sex that

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their charms should be deemed worth an elephant.[24] Thus it was believed that a high price could always buy the virtue of any woman. Megasthenes also expresses his distrust of female chastity. He says that wives stray from virtue unless they are compelled to be chaste.[25] Again he says that a woman who kills the king becomes the wife of his successor.[26] It is difficult to say what made these writers form such a poor opinion of female morality. It seems, that the idea of the seclusion of women was gradually creeping into the society as a consequence of the wave of asceticism, which spread over the country in the wake of Jainism and Buddhism. Besides, there was the growing fear of blood pollution arising out of racial and caste intermixtures. Rigid rules were framed to safeguard female chastity, so much so that even the very presence of women on certain occasions was considered defiling. Baudhāyana stigmatizes the people of the south by saying, that it is their habit to eat in the company of their wives.[27] Vasishṭha also forbids a man to dine with his wife because this will make his children destitute of manly vigour.[28]

Even a social reformer like the Buddha had great distaste for women's liberty. He refused in the beginning to admit his own mother Mahāprajāpati Gautamī to the Buddhist church. Later on though he gave permission to women to join Buddhist Order, he made it a rule that *Bhikkhuṇī Saṁgha,* though a separate body by itself, must remain for all practical purposes subordinate to the *Bhikkhu Saṁgha.* The Buddhists as-

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signed a distinctly inferior position to *Bhikkhuṇīs*,[29] because the Buddha was of opinion that their admission to the Buddhist saṁgha was bound to destroy its integrity and purity.[30]

Economic Emancipation of Women

Though the attitude towards women was becoming rather unfavourable yet they were not subjected to social repressions, which later became the order of the day. We find women often enjoying even economic freedom. Under certain trying circumstances of life women were compelled to cross the domestic boundary and seek their living elsewhere. They did not, however, play an important role in the economic life of the country. But they managed somehow to earn their living by such by-occupations as weaving, spinning, sewing and serving as handmaids. Sometimes they also served as royal spies. Women of respectable families, who did not come out in public, those living separately, and those whose husbands had gone abroad, cripple women, widows and maidens when obliged to earn their living, could do so by spinning threads and sent them to weaving establishments through servants.[31] Women who could present themselves at the weaving house early at dawn, earned their wages in exchange of yarns.[32] Provisions were made so that nobody could take undue advantage of such working girls and ladies. It is stated by Kauṭilya that the superintendent of the weaving house should be punished with first amercement, if he looked at the face of a woman or talked with her on other matters. Delay in paying wages was

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also punishable. Kauṭilya says that similar punishment should inflicted if wages were paid for the work that was not completed. On the other hand if a woman did not turn out the work, even after receiving her wages then her thumb was cut off.[33] Old female slaves of the king and *devadāsīs*, etc., could earn their livelihood by spinning wool fibre, cotton (*tula*), hemp and flax.[34]

Women often secured employment as wandering spies. Poor widows of Brāhmaṇa caste usually earned their subsistence by above means. They were often employed as roving spies. Women ascetics and women of Śūdra caste were employed in the same tasks. They frequented royal households and the houses of prime ministers. Women were also employed to espy the private character of heir apparent, high officials of the state and so on.[35] According to Kauṭilya thus, women could enjoy economic independence whenever the occasion so demanded. Normally, however, these economic activities were undertaken by ordinary middle class women. Women of royal households and well-to-do families did not perform such activities. In Buddhist literature we get ample references about economic activities of women. From the Jātakas we learn that it was customary for women, both young and old to work for their livelihood.[36] Village women did various kinds of works. Such works as watching the fields,[37] spinning and weaving, were generally done by women.[38] Jātakas often mention the flower-girls, who went about selling flowers and fruits.[39] Poor women earned their livelihood by serving as domestic maids (*Parichārikā*).[40]

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Some were employed to do menial works and were called *dāsīs*.[41] Some secured services as nurses[42] (*dhātri*). Women even rowed boats at times. In the Mahābhārata we are told that Satyavatī used to ply boats in the river Yamunā with the consent of her father.[43] Village women worked under *Āyuktas* or village headmen. Sometimes these peasant women were compelled to render forced labour for the village headman, such as filling his granary, keeping his house clean, spinning threads for him and making his apparels. Women also worked in dairy farms as dairymaids.[44] Pecuniary necessity thus forced village women both young and old to work for their livelihood.

We get few references about political activities of women. But generally women were not encouraged to take part in serious affairs of the state. They were considered unfit for all responsible works. It was believed that they were incapable of performing the difficult duties of taxation and administration. They were deemed weak by nature and thereby they could not be entrusted with important state secrets. According to the Buddha, there were nine kinds of persons who could not keep a secret if it was entrusted to them. In this list of nine persons he also included a woman, and said that a woman was no better than a drunkard, a lustful, an angry or bewildered, or a timid man, an eunuch or even a child, because all of them were fickle, mean and wavering by nature. When a secret was passed over to them it straightway became a public

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property.[45] More or less the same idea has also been expressed in the Mahābhārata. It is stated, that there should be no dwarf, no humpbacked person, no lean or lame man, no blind man, no idiot, no woman and no eunuch at the spot where the king holds council.[46] According to Manu, the reason for the exclusion of women from all important affairs is that, they divulge secrets easily and they are incapable of offering sound advice on the intricate problems of the state.[47] Kauṭilya does not consider them fit for participating in state affairs. Such being the general attitude of the people, it is quite natural that they should be excluded from administrative functions. Our lawgivers are extremely doubtful about their power of discretion.

Executive roles of women

In spite of such uncharitable remarks we find few references about women rulers and administrators. Queen Nāganikā or Nāyanikā was perhaps the first lady in ancient India who actually held the reins of government. In the Nānāghāṭ cave inscription she is represented as the wife of Śātakarṇi—the undisputed sovereign of the Deccan (अप्रतिहतचक्रस्य दक्षिणापथपते) and the daughter of a *Mahārathi*—a scion of *Aṅgika Kula* or *Aṅgiya* family. After the death of her husband she served as the regent of her two sons Skandaśrī and Śaktiśrī during their minority.[48] One thing must be noted in this connection, viz., that in the above mentioned cave inscription, the Queen's name has not been specifically mentioned. It is only stated that she acted as the regent for her two sons Skandaśrī and Śaktiśrī.

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D. C. Sircar thinks that she is the same Queen as Nāganikā or Nāyanikā, who is mentioned in Nānāghaṭ Cave Figure-Label inscription. He identifies Śakti-śrī or Śaktisiri of the inscription (viz., Nānāghāṭ cave inscription) with Hakusiri of the Nānāghāṭ Cave Figure-Label inscription.

Though somewhat doubtful, we have another epigraphic evidence of a woman ruler. The Nāsik cave inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (Regnal Yr. 24—A.D. 130) records a proclamation by the Queen mother who has been designated as जीवत्सुतायाः[49]. The purport of this inscription is to convey to the people the well-being of the king. According to D. C. Sircar, the next claimant to the throne was probably in his way, in this interval the Queen mother held the reins of the government[50] and the Queen mother would not have issued such a proclamation, assuring the people of the well-being of the king, unless she was in power. H.C. Raychaudhuri points out that the first Śātakarṇi styled himself simply as Śātakarṇi, while later Śātakarṇis styled themselves either by geographical or metronymic designations[51] like Gautamīputra or Vasishṭhīputra. The use of metronymic designations by Gautamīputra and Vāsishṭhīputra is significant because it shows that the mothers of those two kings were women of some consequence. In an inscription (Nāsika cave insc.), we find Gautamī Balaśrī describing the exploits of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.[52] Thus, we can assume that Gautamī Balaśrī held the reins of the government during the illness of her son Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī.[53] Of

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Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi's mother we do not get any specific mention. But the very fact that her son assumed her name shows that she was an important personage.

Strīrājya of Vātsyāyana

Besides the few above mentioned, we do not have any other epigraphic record throwing light on the executive roles of women, during the period of our study. But we have stray literary references which indirectly suggest, that in certain countries women were authorised to discharge executive functions. Vātsyāyana, while speaking of a peculiar custom which *Bāhlīka* country had in common with *Strīrājya,* says that here several young men were married to a single woman, and they were in the same position as ladies in the harem in other countries.[54] As H. C. Chakladar points out, that the very name *Strīrājya* indicates that here the women perhaps exercised all executive powers of the state.[55] The very fact that here young men were in the same position as ladies in harem in other countries, shows that women were all in all in the country and men held insignificant positions. It is therefore quite natural to suppose that in the *Strīrājya* all important affairs of the state were conducted by women. We, however, sometimes get the names of kings of *Strīrājya*. Thus in Mahābhārat we come across a certain king named Mahārāja Sugāla, the ruler of *Strīrājya,*[56] who came to the *svayaṁvara* of the daughter of Chitrāṅgada, the king of Kaliṅga. But as Hsüan Tsang states, these kings of *Strīrājya* were not independent rulers. They

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figured only as husbands of the queens but did not administer the government. The country was ruled by a succession of women. Men only assisted in the cultivation of fields and suppression of revolts.[57]

The real existence of the *Strīrājya* has been doubted by scholars. Vātsyāyana gives us no inkling regarding the exact geographical location of this country. But in one place he mentions it along with *Bāhlīka* and as Chakladar points out, the similarity of customs in these two countries, indicate that they were situated in the same region.[58] Chakladar has quoted from various authorities to prove that *Strīrājya* was not entirely mythical. According to him it was situated probably in the Himālayas to the north of the Punjab, but more likely in the region of the north-west beyond the Himālayas where Bṛhat Saṁhitā and Rājtaraṅgiṇī place it.[59]

Chakladar's presumption is based on Varāhamihira's statement, who in his Bṛhat Saṁhitā specifically states that, *Strīrājya* belonged to the north-western quarter of India, along with the territories of the Tuṣāras (Tokhāra of Hsüan Tsang), the Aśmakas, the Madras and similar other tribes who lived in that region.[60] Parāśara who belonged to an earlier period and who supplied the source of Varāhamihira's statement, says expressly in his Siddhānta, that Tuṣāras and other tribes lived in the north-west and beyond them was the *Strīrājya*.[61] In Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa also, we find mention of a country named *Strīvāhya* or *Strīrājya* in the north-western quarter.[62]

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Hsüan Tsang describes a country in the Himālayas, further north of the region about Gaṅgādvāra or Hardwar. To the north of this country (Brahmapura) and in the Great snow-capped mountains was the *Suvarṇagotra* country, which was so called because superior gold was produced here. This was also known as eastern woman's country (i.e. of the Chinese) because it was ruled by a succession of women. This country reached on the east to *Tu-fan* (Tibet) on the north to Khotan, and on the west to *San-p'o-ha* (Malasa).[63] The country thus lay near to the Tibetan frontier as has already been pointed out by Chakladar.[64] In Rājataraṅgiṇī also we find mention of *Strīrājya*. It is stated here that *Strīrajya* was one of the countries conquered by Lalitāditya (first half of the 8th cent. A.D.). We are being told that the king after conquering the Tukhāras, who lived according to Hsüan Tsang in the vicinity of *Bāhlīka* country, conquered the country of women. Then he advanced towards the land of Uttara Kurus,[65] which according to Aitereya Brāhmaṇa,[66] was situated on the other side of Himālayas. All these suggest, that the country of Amazons was situated further north.

To the above evidence is also added the statement of Bhaṭṭasvāmin, the commentator of Arthaśāstra. According to him *Strīrājya* formed one of the countries which were renowned for mines of precious stones.[67] Thus the evidences quoted by Chakladar prove that *Strīrājya* was not a fanciful idea of Vātsyāyana. The frequent mentions of *Strīrājya*, as well as the epigraphic

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references which we get about women administrators of Śātavāhana period, make it clear that the succession to the thrones though normally reserved for males, yet exceptions to this rule were not unheard of.

Religious Role of Women

Most of our legal authorities are strictly against the notion of women's participation in religious activities. Only Āpastamba is somewhat lenient in this matter. In one place he indirectly recognizes the right of women to participate in religious performances. According to him a man should not take a second wife, if he already has a wife who is willing and able to perform her share of religious duties and bears sons.[68] Thus according to Āpastamba wives had their allotted shares in religious performances. But other lawgivers are too niggardly in their attitude. Gautama, for instance, says that "a wife is not independent with regard to (the fulfilment of) the sacred law."[69] He does not allow any religious freedom to women. Though he denies religious freedom to women, he does not specifically mention that they have no share in religious activities. Women could not, however, of their own accord offer any sacrifice either Vedic, *Śrauta or Gṛhya*. Baudhāyana does not allow them independence either in inheritance or sacrifice.[70]

In Mahābhārata we find the same idea. It is stated that women could not perform any sacrifice independently of her husband.[71] Manu forbids a Brāhmaṇa to take the food offered at a sacrifice which is performed by a person who is not a *Śrotriya,* by one who

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sacrifices for multitude of persons, by an eunuch or a woman.[72] For if these persons offer any sacrifice then that sacrifice is unlucky for holy persons and it causes displeasure of gods.[73] In other words, Manu forbids women along with three other categories of persons, to offer sacrificial oblations. In another place he explicitly warns women, either married or unmarried, against offering *Agnihotra* sacrifices. He says that by doing so both they and also the persons to whom *Agnihotra* belongs, sink to hell.[74] Brāhmaṇical lawgivers are thus, quite rigid in their attitude towards the religious independence of women.

In earlier period such was not the case. In fact we often find considerable liberty being granted to women in religious sphere. From Ṛgveda we learn that the wife played a significant role in religious life. Provisions were also being made for religious aspirations of women. In most cases it was absolutely essential that the wife should participate in sacred ceremonies along with her husband. In Ṛgveda we read of the *dampati* (married couple) who "with minds in harmony press the *Soma*, rinse and mix it with milk" and make offerings to god.[75] Not only that, but they also took part in religious discussions and even composed vedic hymns. One such authoress was Viśvavārā, to whom the authorship of the second song of the fifth chapter of the Ṛgveda has been ascribed. Abstruse philosophical problems like the immortality of souls etc., were discussed by women. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad tells us of a woman philosopher, Gārgī Vācaknavī, who carried on

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learned discussions with *Ṛṣi* Yājñavalkya. Another spiritual aspirant was Maitreyī, the wife of Yajñavalkya. Though as Max Müller points out. "cases like Maitreyī were exceptions, not the rule",[76] yet it shows that religious and spiritual ambitions of women were not nipped in the bud, as was done in later periods.

Women continued to enjoy this religious freedom even in Brāhmaṇa and Upanishadic periods. In the subsequent period the religious status of women did not suffer marked degradation. Mahābhārata has preserved for us a number of stories of women who were noted for their spiritual aspirations. Thus there is the story of a Brahmavādinī Sulabhā, who made great progress in spiritual path. There was another woman named Śibā, the daughter of a learned Brāhmaṇa, she studied all the Vedas and afterwards attained *Siddhi*.[77] In Harivaṁsa we meet with another Brahmavādinī.[78]

In Pāṇini's Ashṭādhyāyī women figure as ascetics as is indicated by the epithet *Kumārī-Śramaṇā*[79] i.e. an unmarried female ascetic. This shows that women could enter the ascetic order if they so desired. Such female ascetics could move about freely as homeless mendicants and dedicated their lives to penance. They were called '*Kumāra-Pravrajitā* and *Kumāra-tāpasī*.[80] Above epithets make it clear that in spite of strict injunctions of the Dharma Sūtra and Dharma Śāstra writers women could take up a life of religion at any time. In Brāhminical literature we thus find two contradictory trends, one embodying puritanic rules and the other embodying charitable concessions.

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Religious status of women in the eyes of Buddhist writers

The Buddha was willing to impart sacred teaching to women only when they could receive it along with their husbands. Thus the householder named Pokkhāra Sadi went to the Buddha along with his wife and both of them received instructions in *Dharma* from him.[81] The Buddha was strictly against the notion that women should retire from household and resort to the state of homeless mendicant.[82] Because he believed, that women were full of inconsistencies and with them there was no difference between truth and untruth. Due to this prejudice the Buddha was at first disinclined to admit women to the Buddhist Order. But later on, after repeated pleadings of Ānanda, his most favourite disciple, he consented to permit women to enter into the state of 'houselessness'. Thus he introduced a new institution, viz., the institution of *Bhikkhuṇīs* as distinct from *Bhikkhu Saṁgha*. The first convert to this *Bhikkhuṇī Saṁgha* was his own mother Mahāprajāpati Gautamī. Thus started a new and separate religious body of alms-women. The first sermon, which the Buddha delivered to Mahāprajāpati and her companions, was the same as that which he used to deliver to monks on their admission to the Order. He said:—

"Whatever O Gautamī, conduce to peace and not to passion, to absence of pride, to wishing for little and not for much, to seclusion and not to indolence, to contentment and not to quarrelsomeness, verily that is the true doctrine."[83]

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The Buddha thus gave equal status to women converts so far as the first teaching was concerned. But that does not actually mean religious freedom. The rules which the Buddha framed for *Bhikkhuṇī Saṁgha* clearly indicate that he had no idea either of granting religious independence or religious equality to female disciples. Few examples of such rules will make our point more clear. He thus states in the Chullavagga.[84]

1. An alms-woman, even of hundred years standing, shall make salutation to, shall rise up in presence of, shall bow down before an almsman, who has just been initiated.

2. *A Bhikkhuṇī* is not to spend the rainy season (*Vassā*) in a district in which there is no *Bhikkhu*.

3. *A Bhikkhuṇī* who has been guilty of a grave offence has to undergo the prescribed discipline towards both the *Saṁghas*.

4. *A Bhikkhuṇī* should in no pretext revile or abuse a *Bhikkhu*.

Such rules hardly need further explanation, and it is clear that Buddha was too reluctant to grant any independence to women. According to him they should always live under the protection and control of men even when they retired from household and took to asceticism. There was no special consideration even for age. A nun of hundred years standing had to bow down before a monk who had just been initiated. Obeisance to women was not allowed. He ordain-

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ed that monks were not to bow down before women or to perform towards them those duties that were deemed proper for an inferior to a superior.[85] Such rules naturally made the *Bhikkhuṇī Saṁgha* subordinate to *Bhikkhu Saṁgha* for all practical purposes. But one thing must be pointed out here that, though the Buddha did not believe in the independence of women and he wanted them to remain under the control of men even in the sphere of religion, yet he was the man who prepared the stage for the actual religious emancipation of women. Previously a woman could hardly play any part in religious life of the country. She had no separate entity in religious matters and her religious life was completely entwined with that of her husband.

In the Buddha's time women started taking part in religious life en-masse. The fraternity of *Therīs* sprang up, who by their beautiful psalms did more for the cause of Buddhism than ordinary monks could do. Therīgāthā or the book which these nuns compiled, has come down to us not only as a specimen of educational and intellectual eminence of women of the time, but it also preserves a vivid account of the religious and pious activities of women. These *Therīs* came from all classes, from the royal families down to the lowest strata of society. In Buddhist literature we read about a number of pious women who devoted their lives to the cause of religion. Thus we learn about such women as Sukhā, Paṭāchārā, Bhaddha-Kuṇḍala-Keśā, who were renowned for their religious predilection.[86] Women like Mahāprajāpati, Kiśā Gautamī and others

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stunned the people with their severe austerities and spiritual pursuits. Besides these women, who took part in the active field of religion by joining the monastic order, there were other lay-women whose religious activities also demand praise. Suppiyā was a living example of such lay-women, whose human qualities have been extolled in the Mahāvagga.[87] Viśākhā was another pious lady and her milk of human kindness and piety even attracted the attention of the Buddha.

The few above examples make it clear that during the time of the Buddha, women for the first time got their long cherished religious freedom. This enabled them to take up the life of religion, without the assistance of their husbands. Women could now forsake their hearth and home and lead the life of an ascetic if they so wished it, and their religious life was no longer confined to few domestic rites. Buddhism thus recognized the religious rights of women, while Brāhmaṇical lawgivers were too miserly to do so.

Legal status : right to appear as a witness

About the legal rights and legal status of women, views likewise differ. Practically speaking women had no legal rights excepting in certain cases their special shares in property. Ordinarily they were not allowed to give evidence. They could only give evidence for women.[88] In other cases their evidence was not valued. Witness of a single man, who was free from covetousness, was preferred to that of many pure women, because it was held that understanding of women was apt to waver.[89] It is only in the absence of a qualified

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witness, a woman's evidence could be accepted.[90] Women were thus legally disqualified to appear as witness and only under exceptional circumstances their evidence could be accepted. About other legal rights of women we do not find any mention.

Daughter's right to property

The question of a woman's right to property has been a subject of great controversy ever since the compilation of our legal treatises. During early Vedic period the question of a daughter's right of inheritance did not pose a difficult problem. During this period daughters probably had some share in the paternal property. We read in the Ṛgveda that daughters were allowed to stay with their parents and brothers till they grew old.[91] This naturally presupposes that some sort of maintenance or share of ancestral property was given to such girls. In fact there is an allusion that "a maid is pleasing to the suitor who fain would marry her for her splendid riches."[92] Here we find a veiled reference to the fact that daughters had their share in paternal property. This share was given to them at the time of their marriages. Mention has been made to the riches given by the wife's brother to his brother-in-law.[93] Daughters even had their separate property in the form of ornaments which they could dispose of if they liked.[94]

Brotherless daughter's claim

Though in Ṛgveda we get frequent references to a daughter's share in property and her special se-

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parate share in the form of dowry, we do not find a daughter inheriting the whole of ancestral property. There is however, one such reference in the Buddhist literature. In Therīgāthā we find a mother dissuading her daughter Sundarī from taking to monastic order by pointing out that she had come in possession of the whole of her paternal estate as her father had turned an ascetic.[95] Here we get a reference that a brotherless maiden had a right to patrimony. The right of inheritance of a brotherless daughter has also been accepted at least by two of our Dharma-Sūtra writers. Thus Gautama declares that a person who has no male issue can appoint his daughter.[96] But it is rather difficult to ascertain from his statement whether such an appointed daughter (*Putrikā*) herself inherited the property or whether it passed on to her son. Perhaps, it was her son who inherited the property of his maternal grandfather, otherwise why should brotherless maidens be disqualified for marriage. It was the prevailing custom of the time that the son of an appointed daughter belonged to his maternal grandfather. He should offer the first funeral cake to his mother, second to his maternal grandfather and third to his father's father.[97] Thereby, the actual father of the son of an appointed daughter did not gain any spiritual merit from his offspring. It is therefore quite natural for Gautama,[98] and Manu,[99] to forbid a wise man to marry a maiden who has no brother.

The above discussions suggest that Gautama, while he allowed a person who had no male issue to appoint

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his daughter, did not suggest that property in that case was inherited by the daughter herself. He means that it was inherited by her son. Our supposition gains further confirmation from the fact that Gautama includes only an appointed daughter in the list of his heirs.[100] Vasishṭha, however, is more explicit in his remarks. He declares that "a maiden who has no brother comes back to the male ancestors of (her own family), returning she becomes their son."[101] In other words he gives the status of a son to a brotherless and only daughter. In fact he names an appointed daughter third in the list of heirs.[102] Bühler thinks that Vasishṭha calls an appointed daughter a son because of the custom, which though rarely, was practised in Kashmir, by which a brotherless maiden was given a male name. A historical instance of this kind is mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī where it is stated, that Kalyānadevī princess of Gauḍa, and wife of king Gayāpiḍa, was called by her father Kalyānamalla.[103] But Bühler's explanation does not sound quite logical. Because, Vasishṭha not only calls an appointed daughter a son, but he gives her a third place in the list of heirs. It is no doubt true that in one place he declares that the son, which an appointed daughter bears, belongs to her maternal grandfather,[104] and thereby making that son a rightful claimant to the property of his maternal grandfather. But this does not mean that he (Vasishṭha), rejects the claim of the appointed daughter, whose name he has already put in the list of heirs.

Kauṭilya also allowed a daughter to inherit her

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father's estate, if she was the only child of her parents. He says that if a person has only daughters born of such marriages, as are contracted in accordance with the customs of any of the first four kinds, they shall have the property. But if these daughters are born of a marriage other than the first four lawful kinds, they shall inherit immovable property. His brothers and the persons who have been living with him shall take possession of his movable property.[105] Kauṭilya is thus willing to give the full right of inheritance to a daugther if she is the only child and if she is born of lawful marriage. Manu is also inclined to allow an only daughter the right of inheritance. He even regards such a daughter equal to a son, and says that while an appointed daughter is present how can another person take the estate.[106] In other words, he prefers to give the estate to a daughter, who has been appointed for that purpose, rather than to give it to any other person who is not a rightful claimant. But like his predecessors Gautama and Vasishṭha, Manu recognizes the claims of the son of an appointed daughter over and above the claims of his mother. He declares that the son of an (appointed) daughter shall take the whole estate of his maternal grandfather who leaves no son.[107] But he does not overlook the claims of an only daughter. He says women have no right of primogeniture and therefore, if after a daughter has been appointed a son is born to her father, then in that case both shall have equal shares.[108] Manu thus indirectly acknowledges the right of a *Putrikā* (appointed daughter), to her patrimony.

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Some other authorities are too reluctant to grant property rights to girls. Thus Āpastamba would rather prefer the property to be given to a public cause than to a daughter. Only in such cases where there is no agnate, teacher or pupil to claim the property, he allows a daughter to inherit it. He does not recognize the custom of appointing daughters.[109] According to Baudhāyana also, a daughter has no right of inheritance, even if she is the only issue of her father. She could only inherit the ornaments of her mother.[110] It is her son who could inherit property.[111] Baudhāyana thus recognizes the claims of the son of an appointed daughter (*Putrikā-putra*), but does not recognize the claims of a *Putrikā*. He no doubt uses the word *Putrikā,* but he does not use it in its true legal significance, by which it means an only daughter who could inherit property. He too is of the opinion that the son of an appointed daughter has to offer funeral cakes first to his mother, then to her father and lastly to her father's father.[112] The only plausible reason for the uncharitable attitudes of the above mentioned lawgivers is that, they apprehended that if daughters were to inherit property, then that property was likely to pass out of the family when they married. To safeguard against such a calamity our ancient legalists introduced the custom of adopting appointed daughter's son, by which the heirship evolved on daughter's (appointed) son who virtually became the son of his maternal grandfather. But such views were not held in common. It is stated in the Mahābhārata that it would be unfair and unjust to allow a subsidiary son to inherit the property when there is a

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daughter to claim it. She should at least get more than half the property if not the whole.[113]

Views are thus divided on the question of the right of inheritance of women. But most of our authorities are disinclined to allow a sole right of heirship to a girl even if she be the only child of her parents. They would rather prefer to give the right of inheritance to her son than to her. Though our authorities do not agree on the question of allowing the full right of inheritance to a daughter, most of them are in favour of granting her some share. Thus to a maiden sister, the brothers shall give one-fourth part of their shares, says Manu.[114] Daughters (unmarried) shall also be paid adequate dowry payable to them at the time of their marriage.[115] It is the sole right of the daughters to inherit whatever constitutes the personal property or belongings of their mother. Kauṭilya is reluctant to give any share of property to a daughter where there are sons to claim it. He declares that sisters shall have no claim to inheritance, they shall have the bronze plates and jewellery of their mother after her death.[116] Vasishṭha[117] and Baudhāyana[118] support him. Provisions have also been made for widows. It is stated that an issueless widow, who is desirous to lead a pious life, may enjoy her property as long as she lives. This property consists not only of her endowments and jewellery, but also the balance of *śulka* due to her.[119] Here we find a mention of separate property of women which later came to be known as *strīdhana* or property of women.

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Strīdhana

According to Kauṭilya if a woman was found guilty of treason, transgression and wandering at will, she should be deprived of her property which consisted of following items: (a) *strīdhana*—means of subsistence of above 2,000 paṇas and jewellery. (b) *Āhita-dhana*—compensation she might receive for allowing her husband to remarry. (c) *Śulka*—money which her parents might have received from her husband.[120] *Śulka* or bride price was normally received by the father of the bride, but if he was dead by her mother and if both the parents were no more, then the *śulka* might be received by the bride herself. Thus on the death of the husband a woman, who was desirous to lead a chaste life, should at once receive not only her endowments or means of subsistence and jewellery but also the balance of *śulka* (if there was any) due to her. If she was desirous of a second marriage, she should be given on the occasion of her marriage, whatever she had been given either by her father-in-law or husband or both. But if she married a man other than the selection of her father-in-law, then she would forfeit her claim to the above mentioned things.[121] The above mentioned articles, viz., means of subsistence, jewellery, compensatory money, and *śulka* constituted the property of a woman. But a woman had no power of dispensation and she could not make free use of her property. In other words, she did not possess full control over her property. She could, however, use her endowments and jewellery, says Kauṭilya, in maintaining her son, her daughter-in-law or herself if her absent husband made no provision

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for her maintenance.[122] It is clear from Kauṭilya's statement that, the property was kept in her custody so that she could make use of it in times of hardships. Kauṭilya expressly states in another place, it is to ward off calamities that women are endowed with property. On the death of a woman her kinsmen could take possession of her property. If the husband was alive and the wife was dead, her sons and daughters were entitled to divide the property among themselves. If there were no sons, daughters might have it.[123] Further it has been pointed out that no woman with a son or sons, was at liberty to make free use of her property (*strīdhana*), for her sons were entitled to receive that property. If she attempted to take possession of her own property under the plea of maintaining her sons, she should be made to endow it in their names.[124]

From the above facts it is evident that though Kauṭilya tries to define the property of women (*strīdhana*) as a separate and distinct thing and enumerates different items which constitute this property, practically it amounts to nothing. Theoretically though women were given full power of enjoyment and disposal of this property (*strīdhana*), actually they were forbidden to make free use of it. They could not dispose it of or bequeath it to the person of their choice. Thus a woman was granted no legal claim over her property. She could only keep it in her custody or could make use of it for her own maintenance or that of her children if the occasion so demanded. Manu expressly points out that wives, like sons and slaves, can have no

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property of their own and whatever they acquire becomes the property of their masters.[125] Manu, thus refuses to give a woman sole proprietorship over her property. He, however, defines different constituents that contribute towards the property of a woman. According to him what is given before the nuptial fire, what is given during the bridal procession, what is given as a token of love and what is received from brother, mother and father, are called the sixfold property of women.[126] It is thus clear, that the property of a woman consisted of presents received by her on the occasion of her marriage and thereafter from her husband and her relatives, and it also included the *śulka* or the bride price in certain cases. After her death her property was inherited by her offspring.[127] All uterine brothers and sisters could equally divide the mother's estate after her death.[128] Thus there was no discrimination of heirship or law of primogeniture regarding the division of a woman's property. All her children, whether male or female, eldest or youngest had equal rights over her property.

According to Baudhāyana daughters are entitled to inherit the ornaments of their mother.[129] Govinda, the commentator of Baudhāyana explains, that the word *sāmpradāyikam* means, that which is obtained according to custom. He further states, what is given to their mother by maternal grandfather and grandmother, that can be called *sāmpradāyikam*. Anything else that is presented according to custom, e.g. a bedstead and the like, a couch and an outer garment, etc.

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all come under *sāmpradāyikam*. So much and nothing else the daughters should receive.[130] The commentator of Baudhāyana, thus holds, that daughters had hereditary right over certain articles belonging to their mothers and grandmothers. These articles constituted the property of a woman. Manu also acknowledges a granddaughter's claim over the grandmother's estate.[131] Thus the property of a woman included in addition to *śulka* and presents received by her from her husband and relatives, things that had been bequeathed to her by her mother and grandmother.

The legal status of a woman, regarding the question of inheritance and property right, is thus a queer and confusing subject. However it can be summarized under following heads:—

(i) A brotherless maiden, if she be the only child of the family, was made an 'appointed' daughter (*Putrikā*), by virtue of which she was allowed to inherit her father's estate. When she was married, her son was made the legal heir. In some cases such an appointed daughter was given the same status as a son, and was allowed to inherit the property herself. But this gave rise to serious legal implications and as such her son was made the legal heir of his maternal grandfather's property.

(ii) But the daughters of the person, who had sons to inherit his property, had no claim to patrimony. They could only have adequate dowry, to be given to them at the time of their marriages. To a maiden

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sister each brother should give one-fourth part of his share. The daughters were further entitled to receive the personal belongings of their mother, viz., her ornaments as well as the bronze-plates in which she took her meals and things like that.

(iii) Lastly the special property right of a woman, viz., *strīdhana*. This comprised, means of subsistence or endowments, jewellery, maintenance fee or compensation money received by her for allowing her husband to remarry. *Śulka* or bride price, presents received by her on the occasion of her marriage from her husband and relatives, and finally articles inherited by her from her mother and grandmother were also included in *strīdhana*. According to Manu this separate property of woman could be shared by her daughters (married) alone.[132] But as we have already seen, there is a great deal of divergence of views in the matter.

Position of widows

A widow was granted means of subsistence in the form of endowments and jewellery and also balance of *śulka* due to her, if she was desirous to live piously. She could enjoy these as long as she lived and after death her property passed into the hands of her children. If these things were only nominally given to her and were not actually in her possession, then she could immediately receive them with interest.[123] A barren widow's property could be inherited either by her kinsmen or that of her husband. Remarriage of widows was not an unusual phenomenon in society, and

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a remarried widow did not suffer any legal disability regarding her property right. If a woman was desirous of a second marriage after the death of her first husband, then she was entitled to receive whatever she had been given either by her father-in-law or by her first husband on the occasion of her marriage. But if she married a man other than the person selected by her father-in-law then she had to forfeit her claims to her property.[134]

Remarriage of a widow was thus given legal recognition provided she married a man of her father-in-law's choice. Probably there is an indirect allusion here to the custom which allowed a widow to marry her brother-in-law. In fact in Mahābhārata there is a reference to this custom, as has already been pointed out by A.S. Altekar.[135] It is related here, that a woman when she lost her husband, married her brother-in-law. Āpastamba refers to a strange custom. According to him a girl is married to the family.[136] Perhaps by alluding to this custom he intends to point out the claims of surviving brothers over the wife of their deceased brother.

Gautama betrays a strange attitude towards the remarriage of women. He, while giving a list of persons who should not be invited on the occasion of a funeral oblation, includes the name of the son of a twice married woman.[137] Gautama thus refuses to recognize the respectability of the son of a twice married woman and thereby also that of his mother. But in spite of such a statement, he himself prescribes in an-

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other place, the period of waiting for wives whose husbands have gone abroad and have not returned. According to him a wife must wait for six years if her husband has disappeared. If he is heard of, she shall go to him.[138] In the case of the wife of a Brāhmaṇa, who has gone abroad for the purpose of study, the period is doubled.[139] Though Gautama does not expressly say so, it is evident that after the period of waiting was over, a woman was allowed to remarry. Remarriage was thus allowed even when the death of the husband was presumed and not proved. In the Jātakas we read about a clear case of remarriage. It is related in the Kuśa Jātaka that a Brāhmaṇa married the childless chief queen of a king, without losing caste thereby.[140]

Vasishṭha, Baudhāyana and Manu have also prescribed periods of waiting, after which they allow abandoned wives to remarry. Kauṭilya allows remarriage of women under certain circumstances. He suggests different periods of waiting in different cases. Vasishṭha makes this period vary in relation to castes. Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya women, whose husbands are missing and who have issues, shall wait for five years. But a Brāhmaṇī, having no issue shall wait four years, while a Kshatriya woman having no issue can only wait for three years. A Vaiśya woman having issues shall wait for four years and one who has no issue, shall wait two years. A Śūdra woman having issues shall wait three years, and one who has no issue, shall wait one year.[141] After that period a woman may go to seek her husband or she may remarry. But Vasishṭha prefers, that the

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woman concerned should make selection from among the members of her husband's family. Because he says that while a member of her family is living she shall certainly not go to a stranger.[142] Kauṭilya specifies the periods of waiting for women, whose husbands are missing and are long unheard of. He varies this period of waiting according to castes and according to circumstances. But he declares, that those women whose husbands have become ascetics, or who are no more, should wait for seven months if they have no issue, but if they have issues, then they should wait for a year. After the period of waiting is over, they are allowed to marry their borther-in-laws. If a woman has no brother-in-law, then she shall marry a person who belongs to the same *gotra* as that of her husband, or a relative.[143] Baudhāyana, is perhaps more liberal in his views. He permits a girl, whose husband has died immediately after marriage, to remarry unconditionally.[144]

Manu recommends different terms of waiting like his predecessors Vasishṭha and Kauṭilya.[145] But Medhātithi, the commentator of Manu, glossing over this statement, remarks that a wife shall not take another husband (even after the expiration of the period of waiting), but shall support herself by blameless occupation and shall remain chaste.[146] It seems that Medhātithi's interpretation is quite in accordance with Manu's injunction. Because, we find Manu in another place forbidding in strong terms remarriage of women. He declares that remarriage of women is nowhere pre-

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scribed in the marriage laws.[147] He points out that a remarried woman is looked down upon in society, and as such her son and husband are to be carefully excluded from the list of invitees to a *Śrāddha* ceremony.[148]

Manu prescribes rather strict and lofty ideals for widows. They should remain chaste and should practise all sorts of mortifications of the flesh. Baudhāyana ordains that a widow should lead a blameless life and practise austerities. But he is not harsh in his attitude towards widows and enjoins that they should practise austerities and inhibitions only for one year and no more.[149] Manu says that after the death of her husband, a woman should discard all pleasures of life, living only on roots and fruits cherishing the memory of her dead husband.[150] According to Manu remarriage of widows is unsocial and unlawful act. Like Manu, Vātsyāyana does not view remarriage of women with approbation. There is no mention in his treatise about a regular remarriage of a widow. If a woman after the death of her husband, is so inclined (says Vātsyāyana), she can live with another man and such a woman is called a '*punarbhū*'. She shows greater knowledge of the arts, than his wedded wives, and seeks to please her lover better than his wives. She takes part in sports, festivities, drinking parties, garden picnics and other games and amusements.[151] Thus, as has been pointed out by Chakladar, the position of a *punarbhū* approached nearer to that of a mistress than that of a wedded wife.[152] In the king's harem, the *punarbhūs* occupied an intermediary position between

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queens who were quartered in the innermost apartments and courtesans who occupied the outermost apartments. Vātsyāyana places a *punarbhū* between a virgin (*kanyā*) and a courtesan.[153]

Niyoga

Vātsyāyana thus declares, in no unmistakable terms, that remarriage of widows was treated with disfavour in society, and such remarried women were given no decent status in society. Some other authorities even refuse to acknowledge the custom of *niyoga,* which the early Dharma Sūtra writers and the Mahābhārata prescribe for childless young widows. Manu is vacillating in his opinion regarding the custom of *niyoga*. In some places, he authorises an issueless widow to beget a son by cohabiting with a brother-in-law or some other *sapiṇḍas*.[154] He permits the son of such union, to inherit the property of his mother's first husband.[155] But he does not allow a twice-born man's widow to do such a thing.[156] In another place he forbids, women in general, to violate their duty to their dead husbands out of desire to have offspring. He says, that for violating their duty towards their husbands the wives are disgraced both in this world and the next.[157] In Manu's code, we find a curious picture of a society in which there is a commingling of age old traditions and new reformatory ideas. Some of the early Dharma-Sūtra writers, like Gautama,[158] Baudhāyana[159] and Visishṭha[160] permit *niyoga* to a childless widow. But Āpastamba is strongly against the custom. He declares that it is better to face punishment or reward of the

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next world rather than obtain a son through *niyoga*.[161] In the face of existing sentiments it is rather strange to find this unfavourable attitude of Āpastamba towards the *niyoga*.

The desire for son and successor being an overpowering sentiment in ancient Indian society, even an illegitimate son was preferred to the alternative of having no sons. To an issueless man the fear of torments hereafter had already become an obsession. As such we find even the son of another man, *Sahoḍha* or the son of a pregnant wife etc., were freely admitted in society. Gradually, however, ascetic ideals were creeping in society and under the influence of these ideals the outlook towards life also underwent a total change. Ancient lawgivers now tried to organize the society on a firm moral basis. Hence, a number of inhibitions and prohibitions were introduced to check the evil propensity of people. For the same reason perhaps *niyoga* and remarriage of widows were censured and they were ordained to lead a life of chastity and austerity.

Satī

In course of time, beginning perhaps with Manu, women when they lost their husbands, were forbidden to remarry or beget sons through *niyoga*. Now the question naturally arises, whether along with these austere rules the custom of *Sati* or self immolation was also introduced in society. About this pernicious custom we do not get any reference in the Dharma Sūtras. Manu, who has framed rather rigid rules for

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widowhood, does not refer to it. A single reference to *Satī* or widow burning is preserved in the Mahābhārata in the well-known story of Mādrī, the beloved wife of Pāṇḍu. The Atharva Veda refers to a custom according to which it was obligatory for a widow to mount the funeral pyre of her husband and lie by the side of her husband's corpse. Later she was asked to come down and it was prayed that she should lead a happy life, enjoying her wealth and bliss of children.[162] Here we find a veiled allusion to the ancient world belief, that a dead man required all his personal belongings in the next world. Thus when the army of Darius entered Scythia, which was then occupied by Iranian nomads (who always lived on horse-back), he found a strange custom. Here when a chief died his horse men were slain and were made to sit upon dead horses set around the corpse, along with his concubines, cupbearer, cook and riding horses all of whom were killed to accompany their dead master in the life hereafter.[163] Max Müller informs us that it was the custom among the Tharacians, the Getes, and the Greeks, that the wives best cherished by husbands were sacrificed upon their tombs. Probably the idea behind the custom was the same as we have stated before, viz., it was believed that the husband would like to have the company of his beloved wife even after he had left this world and gone to the next.

Satī, in our country, perhaps owed its origin to similar belief. But it might also be due to the general distrust of women which was prevailing in society. Owing to the growing rigidity of views, it was commonly

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believed, that women were the roots of all evils. It was feared that when a woman lost her husband there was every chance of her going astray. In order to avoid that, the custom of *Satī* was probably introduced. We do not find much reference to this custom in our early literature. Only one vague allusion in Atharva Veda and another in the Mahābhārata. But Megasthenes informs us, that the custom was in practice among the people of Taxilā, and a widow who refused to burn herself was held in contempt.[164] We do not find further mention of this custom till the Rājput period.

Characteristics of different types of women

Having discussed to some extent at least, the status of women in different phases of life, we shall now try to find out the characteristics of different types of women in different parts of our country. Vātsyāyana gives us an interesting account of the subject. Vātsyāyana follows the ancient views, according to which the country was divided into five geographical divisions. These five divisions, according to Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,[165] were the *Prācī Dik* with it's *Samrāṭ* rulers, the Dakshiṇā *Dik* with its *Bhoja* sovereigns, the *Pratīcī* and *Udīcī Diks* with their *Svarāṭ* and *Virāṭ* rulers, and the *Dhruva Madhyamā Dik* with its kings called *Rājās*. Later on these *Diks* were changed into *deśas*.[166]

Women of Madhya Deśa

Vātsyāyana starts with the Madhya deśa or central division, and refers to a few places in central division. The limits of Madhya deśa of Vātsyāyana were probab-

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ly the same as conceived by Manu. He describes it as a country between, *Himāvat* and the Vindhya mountains, to the west of *Prayāga* and to the east of *Vinaśana,* that is the place where Saraswatī disappears.[167] Thus according to Manu, Madhya deśa lay between Himālayas in the north, and Vindhya mountains in the south, stretching as far as *Prayāga* or Allahabad in the east. According to Chakladar the Middle country of Vātsyāyana, probably lay in the region between the *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā,*[168] which has been described as the land of *Āryas* by Vasishṭha[169] and Baudhāyana.[170] According to Vātsyāyana women of this country were clean in their habits and they disliked indecent practices which were indulged in some other countries in love affairs.[171]

Women of Udīchya deśa

Vātsyāyana then describes the custom of the women of *Udīchya* division and mentions in particular the customs of women of *Bāhlīka,* which according to the commentary can be located in Uttarapatha,[172] i.e. in the northern region. Chakladar identifies the country with the city of Balkh in Bactria and suggests that it was situated somewhere in the Kuru land.[173] Vātsyāyana informs us that women of *Bāhlīka deśa,* like the women of Madhya deśa, were decent in their habits and avoided unclean practices.[174] He further intimates that women of this country, like that of *Strīrājya* and the province of *Grāmanārī,* were of a polyandrous nature and several young men were married to a single woman.[175] According to the commentary these young men attended upon their wife either by batches or singly.[176]

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Women of Strīrājya

Women of *strīrajya*,[177] which Chakladar following the identification of that country by Varāhamihira (Bṛhatsaṁhitā) and Kalhaṇa (Rājtaraṅgiṇī), locates in the region of north-west beyond Himālayas, practised polyandry. Hsüan Tsang informs us that in this country women administered executive powers, and it was ruled by succession of women. The queen's husband was the king, but he did not hold the reins of the government.[178]

Women of Prāchya

The *Prāchya* division lay to the east of *Prayāga* where the Madhya deśa terminated.[170] Vātsyāyana refers to several countries of this division, viz., Kāśī, Kośala, Vaṅga, Aṅga and Kaliṅga.[180] While describing the kings harem, he alludes to the custom of polygamy as practised here. He says that in this place several young girls, nine or ten in number, would combine and hide a common lover against discovery.[181] Thus there was complete harmony among women even in such cases where they were rivals in the field of love.

Women of Gauḍa

Vātsyāyana has mentioned a country called Gauḍa several times. From his statements it appears, that Gauḍa was a separate kingdom from Vaṅga at the time of Vātsyāyana. He speaks of the delicacy of the women of Gauḍa. He says that women of Gauḍa were soft and sweet in their speech. They were full of love and had tender and delicate figures.[182]

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Women of Dakshiṇa deśa, Āndhra and Mahārāṣṭra

The southern division is designated by Vātsyāyana as *Dakshiṇāpatha* or *Dakshiṇātya*. The country lay south to the river *Narmadā*.[183] Vātsyāyana refers to the custom of marriage with the daughter of maternal uncle which prevailed in that region.[184] Vātsyāyana further informs us that in Āndhra, which the commentary mentions as a country in the Dakshiṇāpatha to the east of the Karṇāṭa *Viṣaya*,[185] a newly married damsel was sent to the king's harem. The women of Mahārāṣṭra were well versed in all the sixty-four Pañcāla art or the art of love making.[186]

In Kāmasūtra we do not find mention of any specific characteristic of western division. But Vātsyāyana refers to certain countries in the south-west. In this connection he alludes to a custom peculiar to the people of *Aparānta*. He says that in this country, beautiful wives of lower officers were sent to king and high officers to win their favour.[187] There is great deal of controversy regarding the exact location of *Aparānta*. According to the commentary it was situated near western sea.[188] But the country is now generally identified with northern Konkan with its capital at *Sūrpāraka* (*Sopārā*).[189]

From Vātsyāyana thus, we get a fairly good account about the characteristics of different types of women in different parts of India. We also gather from his account that, the status enjoyed by women was not static but it varied in accordance with the difference of manners and customs prevailing in different parts of

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the country. The status of women in ancient India, was thus, a picture of light and shade. Side by side with social privileges and personal freedom, there were inhibitions and prohibitions. But these inhibitions and prohibitions did not bring about a marked deterioration in their position, till the end of the early Dharma Śāstra period, when fresh repressions were introduced in the form of child marriage and seclusion of women. These evils coupled with other censorships brought about a further eclipse in their position.

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107. Ibid., IX. 131.
108. Ibid., IX. 134.
109. A.D.S., II. 6. 14. 2; 3 and 4.
110. B.D.S., II. 2, 3, 43.
111. Ibid., II. 2, 3, 31.
112. Ibid., II. 2, 3. 16.
113. Mahābh., Anu., 45, 14 also Nīlakantha; Ref. Mahābh., Bangavasi edn.
114. Manu, IX. 118.
115. Kauṭilya, Artha., BK. III, Chap. V.
116. Ibid.
117. V.D.S., XVII. 46.
118. B.D.S., II. 2. 3. 43.
119. Artha., BK. III. Chap. II.
120. Ibid., BK. III, Chap. III.
121. Ibid., BK. III, Chap. II.
122. Ibid.
123. Ibid.
124. Ibid.
125. Manu, VIII. 416.
126. Ibid., IX. 194.
127. Ibid., IX. 195.
128. Ibid., IX. 192.
129. B.D.S., II. 2, 3, 43.
130. Ibid., II. 2, 3, 43 Footnote.
131. Manu, IX. 193.
132. Ibid., IX. 131.
133. Kauṭ., Artha, BK. III, Chap. II.

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134. Ibid.
135. Vide, 'Position of women in Hindu civilization,' p. 170.
136. कुलाय हि स्त्री दियते इति उपदिशन्ति–A.D.S., II. 10. 27. 3.
137. G.D.S., XV. 18.
138. Ibid., XVIII. 15.
139. Ibid., XVIII. 17.
140. Jāt, V. 280; Vide C.H.I., Vol. I, p. 209, footnote 4.
141. V.D.S., XVII. 78.
142. Ibid., XVII. 80.
143. Kauṭ., Artha., BK. III, Chap. IV.
144. B.D.S., IV. 1. 16.
145. Manu, IX. 76.
146. S.B.E., Vol. XXV, p. 341, footnote, IX. 76.
147. Manu, IX. 65.
148. Ibid., III. 155 and 166.
149. B.D.S., II. 2, 4, 7 and 8. Vasish., XVII. 55.
150. Manu, V. 157.
151. Kāmasūtra, pp. 238–40; Vide 'Social Life in Anc. India,' p. 182.
152. 'Social Life in Ancient India,' pp. 182–3.
153. Kāmasūtra, p. 243 and 60; Vide 'Soc. Life in Anc. India' by Chakladar, p. 183.
154. Manu, IX. 59. 63.
155. Ibid., IX. 146. 190.
156. Ibid., IX. 64.
157. Ibid., V. 161–164.
158. G.D.S., XVIII. 4, 6, 22.
159. B.D.S., II. 2. 4. 9.
160. V.D.S., XVII. 56.
161. A.D.S., II. 10. 27, 6 and 7.

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162. Atharva Veda, XVIII. 2, 1; Vide 'Position of Women in Hindu civilization,' Altekar, A.S., p. 138.
163. Ref. 'Hist. of the Persian Empire,' Olmstead, A.T.E., p. 148.
164. Starbo, XV. 1. 28 (p. 33–4).
165. Ait. Brāh., VIII. 14.
166. Vide 'Social Life in Anc. Indian,' Chakladar, H.C., p. 41.
167. Manu, II. 21.
168. 'Social Life in Anc. India,' Chakladar, H.C., p. 41.
169. V.D.S., I. 12.
170. B.D.S., I. 1. 2. 10.
171. Kāmasūtra, p. 125.
172. Ibid.,
173. 'Social life in Anc. India,' p. 51 and C.H.I., Vol. I. p. 124.
174. Kāmasūtra, p. 125.
175. Ibid., p. 140.
176. Ibid., Comment., p. 140.
177. Kāmasūtra, pp. 126, 294, 295, etc.
178. Watters, I., p. 330.
179. 'Social Life in Anc. India', Chakladar, H.C., p. 64.
180. Ibid., p. 65.
181. Kāmasūtra, p. 295.
182. Ibid., p. 127.
183. Ibid., Comment., p. 126, Kāvyamīmāṅsā of Rājaśekhara, p. 93; Fleet, J.R.A.S., 1910, p. 444.
184. Kāmasūtra, p. 200.
185. Ibid., p. 126.
186. Ibid., pp. 126–127.
187. Ibid., p. 287.
188. Ibid., commentary, p. 126.
189. C.H.I., Vol. I, p. 60.

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Chapter—IV

SLAVERY

Megasthenes remarked, that "all Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave" and "Indians do not even use aliens as slaves and much less a countryman of their own."[1]

The above remarks of Megasthenes indicate, that probably he was thinking about Helots of Lakedaemonia, and compared their status with that of Indian *dāsas* while he said, that there was no slavery in India. But Megasthenes made the cardinal mistake in comparing the Helots of Lakedaemonia with *dāsas* of ancient India. Because by doing so, he obviously compared all the legal and the political limitations imposed on the slaves in other countries with that of the servile class of India. The root of his assertion, that there were no slaves in India, lay in the fact that he failed to see the slaves of the type he was used to in his own country and in Middle East. In his own country little legal or political protection was accorded to the slaves and they were mere chattels in the hands of their masters. They had no voice even in their personal affairs, which could carry any weight. The treatment meted out to slaves in Greek mines, the Roman latifundia, or the plantations of Christian slave-owners, was one of oppressing misery and inhuman cruelty. Thus the statements of Megasthenes should not be treated as conclusive. We

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should consult other sources to find out if slavery really existed in India.

Slave trade in Ancient India

The author of Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, while giving an account of sea-borne trade in the Indian ocean, makes stray references to the prevalence of slavery in India. In one place it is stated that a brisk trade was carried on with the island of Dioscorida[2] by the people of Muza[3] and by those who chanced to call there on the voyage from Damirica[4] and Barygaza.[5] They brought with them rice, wheat, Indian cloth and few female slaves and took in exchange great cargoes of tortoise shells.[6] Here we thus find an allusion to the slave trade which was most likely a lucrative business at that time. Trade in female cargoes had become specially popular, few of them were exported to Middle East countries from India. Not only Indian slaves were exported to foreign markets but slaves, both male and female, were regularly imported to India from foreign market towns. From Ommana, the market town of Persia and Apologus, the market town at the upper end of the Persian Gulf, many items of trade were sent to Barygaza and Arabia. The important items of which were pearls, purple clothing, wine, a great quantity of dates, gold and slaves.[7] To the market town of Ozene[8] came many articles of luxuries. For the king, along with other costly presents, singing boys and beautiful maidens were brought for the harem.[9] All these references in the Periplus point to the fact that at least at the time of

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the author a busy human traffic was carried on between India and the Middle East countries. The testimony of the Indian authorities also point to the existence of slavery in ancient Indian society, though it was not so rigid as in other countries.

We first come across the word *dāsa* in the Ṛgveda. But in Ṛgveda the word is generally used to signify those enemies of the *Āryas* who are physically and culturally opposed to them. Thus in Ṛgveda (X. 22. 8) the words *dasyu* and *dāsa* are used in the same context to signify an enemy. Many other passages in the Ṛgveda testify to the same fact. It is possible, as P.V. Kane points out, that when the *dāsas* were vanquished in battle and taken prisoners they were treated as slaves.[10] But nowhere in the Ṛgveda the word *dāsa* has been used to denote slavery in its full legal and political implications. Only in one place in the Ṛgveda, viz., the *Dicing hymn,* there is a mention that men could be reduced to slavery for debt incurred in games, and this rule is applicable to free *Āryans* also. In early Dharma Sūtra literature we hardly find any allusion to slavery. Āpastamba, in one place, says that one may indeed stint oneself, one's wife or son (as to food) if guests come, but never a *dāsa* who does menial works.[11] Here obviously a domestic servant is meant.

Pāli scriptures throw ample light on the institution of slavery. Thus Vidura Paṇḍita Jātaka speaks of four kinds of slaves, slaves by birth (*āmāya dāsa*), those by purchase (*dhanena kīta*), those by self choice (*svayaṁ*

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upayanti) and those by fear (*bhayā bhavanti*).[12] In the Sāmaññaphala-sutta, the Buddha enumerates the miseries of the life of a slave. He points out that the state of slavery is but a state of woe. A slave is not his own master, he is always subject to another, he has no free will, no freedom of movement, so on and so forth. But after emancipation a man acquires the freedom of movement like any other freeman on earth. So such a man would naturally become happy when he compares his present state with that of his past.[13] In the Brahmajāla-sutta, knowledge of signs of good and bad qualities of certain objects denoting health or luck of their owner, has been mentioned. In this list of objects slaves and slave girls are also included.[14] This shows that slaves were treated at times as chattels by their owners. As such it was but natural to ascertain their good or bad signs. In another place, in the same sutta, it is ordained to abstain from accepting bond men and bond women.[15]

Buddha prohibits trade in human beings

In another connection the Buddha prohibits five trades on the part of a lay worshipper, the second of which is *suttavaṇijja,* explained by Buddhaghoṣa as *manuṣ-vaṇijja,* traffic in human beings.[16] From the above statement it is obvious, that in the time of the Buddha regular trade in human cargoes was carried on in the country, against which the Buddha started his crusade. In the Buddhist laws, however, we find a lenient attitude towards the admission of slaves to the Order. In the Sāmaññaphala-sutta, it is stated that when a man,

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who had formerly been a slave to a certain person, donned the yellow robe and was admitted to the Order, he should be emancipated from slavery and should be greeted just as other *Bhikkshus.*[17] But in the Mahāvagga, in a discourse on the admission of persons to the Order of *Bhikkshus,* it is ordained that no runaway slave should be admitted to the Order.[18] Before admission was made to the Order, the person should be asked whether he was a freeman or not.[19] Max Müller further elucidates the matter. According to him whenever slaves were admitted to the Order, they were supposed to have previously obtained the consent of their masters and were emancipated.[20]

In R.E. IX., Aśoka enumerates the *dharma-maṅgala,* i.e. four main duties of a noble householder. According to him *"Dasa-bhaṭakasi Samya-paṭipati"* "seemly behaviour to slaves and servants" is the first and the foremost of the four duties which comprise *dharma-maṅgala.* Aśoka thus does not preach against slavery, he only advocates humane treatment to slaves. In Mahābhārata in many places we find mention of the gift of *dāsas* and *dāsīs.*[21] But it is difficult to say whether they were slaves in the true sense of the term, or were mere domestic hands and personal attendants, given as homage to certain persons. Though here the case is rather doubtful yet there is hardly any doubt about the fact that slavery, though in a milder form, was known in the Mahābhārata. Thus in one place we are being told, that the "vanquished is the victor's slave, such is the law of war."[22] War captives did

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actually constitute one of the types of slavery in ancient India, and we find its reference both in the works of Manu[23] and Kauṭilya.[24] Another type of bondage, viz., through wager, is mentioned in the Mahābhārata, and we get the story of Binatā, who became a slave to her co-wife by losing a bet.[25]

Bought and emancipated Śūdras of Manu

Manu mentions two types of Śūdras—bought and unbought, and he enjoins that both of them should be compelled to do servile works.[26] In the same breath he says that "a Śūdra though emancipated by his master is not released from servitude, since that is innate in him, who can set him free from it."[27] Thus Manu, while he speaks of 'bought' and 'emancipated' Śūdras, he is actually referring to slaves. Because no freeman could be bought against his will, and there could be no innate servitude for a freeman, neither there could be any question of emancipation for a freeman. Manu enumerates seven different kinds of slaves, viz., he who is made a captive under a standard. He who serves for daily food. He who is born in the house. He who is bought. He who is given. He who is inherited from ancestors, and he who is enslaved by way of punishment.[28] One peculiar thing must be noted in this connection, viz., that Manu includes slaves in the list of Śūdras whose food can be taken.[29] This is perhaps due to the fact, that often freemen of the higher castes were reduced to slavery under certain circumstances of life. In the laws of Manu we find an indirect mention to it. Manu says that if a Brāhmaṇa, through the

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pride of his superior status in life, compels initiated men of the twice-born castes to do servile works against their will, then the king shall fine him six hundred *paṇas*.[30] Here we find a veiled allusion to the fact that if anybody willingly did the above mentioned works (viz., slave's work) he could do so, but if he was unwilling, it was not permissible to compel him to do those works. Possibly Manu refers to those persons who were made captives in war and also to those who were enslaved by way of judicial punishment—irrespective of castes. Thus we find, though certain persons owing to one reason or other lost their freedom and were treated as slaves yet they retained some of their former caste rights. Even free inter dining with them was allowed by our ancient lawgivers.

From Kauṭilya we learn that slavery was not a common phenomenon of an *Ārya's* life. According to him it was hardly considered a crime for the *Mlecchas* to sell or mortgage the life of their own offspring. But an *Ārya* should never be subjected to slavery.[31] In other words in Kauṭilya's view the institution of slavery was only meant for *Mlecchas* or barbarians. In Buddhist literature also we come across the same idea. In the Assalāyana sutta, the Buddha states that the social system of the Yavanas, Kambojas and such other people, admitted just a distinction between the status of a master and that of a slave.[32] In certain exceptional cases, however, Kauṭilya allowed the life of an *Ārya* to be pledged or mortgaged. These were as follows, in order to tide over the family troubles, to find money for

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fines or court decrees, or to recover the confiscated household implements. Though Kauṭilya permitted an *Ārya* to sell or mortgage either his own life or that of his offspring in times of trouble, he advised the kinsmen of the person, whose life had been mortgaged, to redeem his life as soon as possible.[33]

Sources of slavery

A discussion of slavery naturally gives rise to the question as to how freemen were reduced to slavery. A perusal of the ancient records makes it clear that slavery owed its origin to the ancient war-like habits of the people. The problem of the vanquished foes, perhaps gave the first impetus to the institution of slavery. In the hunting stage people did not enslave their foes but killed them. In the pastoral stage persons captured, in predatory raids and wars, were sold off with the exception of few, who were employed to take care of flocks or look after cultivation. In the third stage of civilization, when the life had become a queer combination of sedentary habits, agricultural exploitation and martial activities, slavery had become imperative in society to provide food for the master and at the same time save him from irksome toil. Evidently therefore freemen made captives in war, began to be reduced to servitude by their conquerors. War captives, therefore, can be regarded as one of the oldest source of slavery. In Greece, which was one of the oldest seat of slavery, war captives were regarded as one of the important sources of slavery. Not only Asiatics and Thracians became slaves, but in many wars between Grecian states and continental or colonials, Greeks were reduced to

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slavery by men of their own race.[34] In India too slavery through capture, was regarded as a primary source. Manu[35] and Kauṭilya refer to it and Jātakas also testify to the fact.[36] It was also one of the most popular source of slavery in other ancient countries. Thus in Rome, which was one of the chief slave market in ancient days, the main bulk of slaves were brought from the countries with which the Romans warred. In the second Punic war, Sicily, Sardinia, Cisalpine Gaul, and Spain contributed their quotas.[37] Sardinian captives practically glutted the market.[38] In Epirus alone 1,50,000 prisoners were sold at one time.[39] Thus not only in India, but in all other countries where the institution of slavery prevailed in ancient times, the bulk was supplied by the war captives.

In Italy, household slaves, once satisfactorily settled were allowed to marry, and Appian says that this was a source of gain to rich landowners.[40] In India also, slaves born in the family added to the number. Thus in the Kaṭāhaka Jātaka, we are being told, how the slave boy named Kaṭāhaka was born of a female slave in the house of *Bodhisattva,* who was a rich treasurer of Banares at the time of king Brahmadatta.[41] The same story is related in the Kalaṇḍuka Jātaka.[42] Manu also speaks of slaves who are born in the house.[43] But according to Kauṭilya, offspring of a man who has enslaved himself, shall be a freeman, and on paying the amount for which a man has been enslaved, he can regain his *Āryahood,* irrespective of the fact whether he

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is pledged or a born slave. Kauṭilya thus maintains a magnanimous outlook, and does not doggedly cling to the notion that once a slave is always a slave.[44] In *Pāli* literature, however, we find in some places, just the reverse attitude. In the Vidurapaṇḍita Jātaka, Vidura enumerates four kinds of slaves, of which he himself is a living example. He says that since he is a slave by birth, he shall remain so even if he leaves the king, his master and goes elsewhere, and wherever he may go, whatever he may do, the king shall have full rights over him.[45] In the Kaṭāhaka Jātaka, we read the story of the runaway slave who disguised himself as his master's son. He was not exposed even when detected by his master, and he continued to retain his freedom.[46] Manu does not cherish a favourable attitude towards the house-born slaves. According to him, the offspring of slave girls should belong to the owner.[47] Manu thus indirectly hints to the fact that, slave boys or girls born of female house slaves, have no right of their own but have to depend on the mercy of their masters.

Voluntary enslavement

Sometimes freemen entered the servile state through voluntary seeking. This type of servitude, though appears quite improbable at the outset, owed its origin to a variety of reasons. Kauṭilya has mentioned a number of circumstances which might compel a person to seek voluntary enslavement. According to him a person who has pledged himself and then runs away shall forfeit and remain a slave for life.[48] In

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other words, he ceases to be a pledge and becomes a *dāsa*. A man can even mortgage his life more than once.[49] Thus a freeman might sell himself in times of distress but the servitude in this case, might be only temporary and it was the most sacred duty of his relatives to free him from bondage as soon as possible.[50] We also come across instances of voluntary enslavement in *Pāli* texts, e.g. (*Svayaṁ Upagata*). In the Mahāvagga we find such a story. There we are told, that once the people of Magadha were afflicted by five diseases, viz., leprosy, boils, dry leprosy, consumption and fits, and they went to Jīvaka Kumārabhakta (Jīvaka was physician to king Bimbisāra) and offered themselves to become his slaves so that he might cure them.[51]

Sometimes desire for self degradation arose out of altruistic motives. Thus in the Jātakas we are told that persons at times enslaved themselves in order to save somebody else's life or freedom.[52] It was also done as a penance.[53] But cases of such altruistic motives are limited. But in the annals of Rome, we find plenty of instances of self-chosen servitude. During the early stages of the First Republic in Rome, the economic condition of the country was in a precarious state. A single bad season plunged the peasantry into debt. Failure to repay the borrowed seed, corn or stock meant eviction for those who could not pledge sufficient land as security, and loss of liberty to the rest. Among the smaller peasantry, many no doubt obtained loans under more humane conditions, by attaching themselves to a patron. Some of them succeeded in paying off their liability by personal service. But it was not uncom-

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mon fate for Roman freemen to end their days in permanent duress, or to be sold away in markets 'across the Tiber', to an Etruscan or Greek slave dealer.[54] Probably Manu's description slaves who served for food, fell in the same category as those who degraded themselves voluntarily owing to pecuniary difficulties.[55]

Strabo writes, that by 150 B.C. slave hunting became a profitable vocation in the east. Delos was the centre of the trade, as many as 10,000 slaves were sold there in a single day.[56] Companies were organized to carry on the trade with Italy.[57] An active sea-borne trade in human cargoes, was also organized with India as has been testified to by the author of Periplus.[58] In the Jātakas we find the word *dhanena kīta* meaning a slave purchased with money.[59] 100 *Kahapaṇas* (*Kārṣāpaṇas*), were considered the conventional price of a slave,[60] and 700 *Kahapaṇas* were enough to buy slaves, male and female (*alam me ettakaṁ dhanaṁ dāsī dāsamūlya*).[61] Manu[62] and Kauṭilya[63] also refer to slaves purchased with money. Manu[64] and Nārada[65] speak of slavery through gift. In Vessantara Jātaka, the exiled prince made a gift of his wife and children to a man. Periplus refers to singing boys and beautiful maidens who were sent as presents to the court of the king of Ujjain.[66] Obviously these singing boys and pretty maidens were none other than slaves.

In Arthaśāstra[67] and Nārada's Smṛti we find references to slaves, whose lives were mortgaged.[68] Manu[69] and Kauṭilya[70] refer to slaves who were bequeathed to persons as a part of family property. Jātakas also men-

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tion different kinds of slavery. Thus in the Kulavaka Jātaka there is a reference to slavery, originating from judicial punishment or court decrees. Thus a wicked and jealous *gāmabhojaka* was reduced to slavery by the king, as a punishment for bringing false charges against thirty innocent villagers.[71] In the Mahāummagga Jātaka, the king commutes the death sentence of four wicked councillors and condemns them to slavery.[72] Incidentally we may note it as a case of severe punishment accorded to high officers for misdeeds. Kauṭilya,[73] Manu[74] and Nārada[75] also refer to persons who are enslaved for fines or court decrees (*daṇḍapraṇītah, daṇḍadāsa* and so on). Kauṭilya says that the ransom necessary to regain freedom for a slave is equal to the amount for which he has been sold. But according to him a condemned criminal shall earn that amount by manual labour.[76] One thing is evident from Kauṭilya's statement, viz., he advocates temporary enslavement even in cases of penal servitude, just as he has done in any other forms of slavery. But he prescribes a long period of servitude in these cases. He ordains that such culprits can only buy their freedom by personal labour and the whole of his wage goes towards his ransom. But in the Jātakas we find no such provision. When we come across enslavement due to judicial punishment in the Jātakas we find that they are life sentences and under no circumstances such sentences could be commuted.

It is interesting to note, that even the author of Periplus does not fail to mention the above type of

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slavery, which he noticed in Colchi.[77] Thus he informs us that the pearl-fisheries (the chief attraction of Colchi), are worked by condemned criminals.[78] Here we get a confirmation to Kauṭilya's assertion that persons reduced to servitude through judicial punishment, had to earn the ransom amount by manual work. Whether the condemned criminals, about whom we find reference in Periplus, also earned their freedom by personal labour, is not known for certain. But one thing becomes clear from the statements of both Kauṭilya and the author of Periplus, viz., the condemned persons were usually required to render servile labour and earned their bread with the sweat of their brow. Besides the above mentioned, there were few other circumstances under which a freeman was compelled to accept servitude. According to Nārada, wager was one of them.[79] In the Majjhima Nikāya we are told, how a gambler by losing a bet in dice, loses his son, his wife, all his property and finally he himself goes into bondage.[80] Similar account is found in the Mahābhārata, e.g. the notorious game of dice of the Pāṇḍavas with Duryodhana.[81]

Nārada, though he belongs to a later period, specifies fifteen kinds of slaves, viz., one who is born in the house. One who is bought. One who is acquired (by gift or other means). One who is inherited. One who is saved in time of famine. One who is pledged by his master. One who is discharged from large debt. One who is captured in battle. One who is vanquished in battle. One who accepts slavery by saying 'I am your's'.

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An apostate from order of asceticism. One who stipulates to be a slave (for a certain time). One who is a slave for food (as long as the food is given to him). One who is tempted to become a slave out of love for a female slave, and one who sells himself.[82] According to Nārada one who sells himself, is the worst kind of slave and he never becomes free from servitude.[83] A close examination of the list of slaves as enumerated by Nārada, makes it clear that almost all the important varieties cited by him, have already been included in the list given by Manu and Kauṭilya. Nārada only divides them under more numerous sub-heads.

In the list of slaves who are categorised under various sub-heads, Nārada mentions the different types of slaves who owe their origin to different circumstances in life, e.g. "one who has become a slave by marrying a female slave" and one who is enslaved by way of punishment 'because he has left a religious order.'[84] Though we do not get any new type of servitude in the list of Nārada, yet we find him making a classification according to the order of castes,—a thing which has not been done either by Manu or Kauṭilya. Thus Yājñavalkya[85] and Nārada[86] prescribe that a man can only be slave to a master in the proper order of the *varṇas*.[87] Three *varṇas* next to a Brāhmaṇa could be slaves to a Brāhmaṇa. A Vaiśya or a Śūdra could be a slave to a Kshatriya, but a Kshatriya could never become slave of a Vaiśya or a Śūdra, nor a Vaiśya that of a Śūdra. The only exception was in the case of an apostate from asceticism, who could be the slave of a Vaiśya or a Śūdra king.[88] It is evident from these caste classifications

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made by Nārada and Yājñavalkya, that by their time the number of slaves in society had outgrown the usual limit. So it was necessary for these lawgivers to classify them according to the order of the castes, so that no harm should be done to the caste sensitiveness of the persons who occupied the key positions in life, by virtue of their superior castes or *varṇas*. Another peculiar statement has been made by Medhātithi, the commentator of Manu. According to him a captive of Kshatriya caste could not be made a slave, and we should interpret Manu's '*dhavajāhṛta*' (or a person captured under a standard), as a captured Śūdra only. In other words, captured Kshatriya should not be treated as *dhavajāhṛta*.[89]

General treatment of slaves

As Mrs. Rhys Davids points out, the general treatment of slaves differed, according to the disposition and capacity of both master and his slave.[90] We learn from the Jātakas that slaves were given equal opportunities with the master's sons, and were permitted to learn reading, writing and handicrafts, though they remained under the constant fear of being beaten, imprisoned, branded and fed on slave's fare.[91] Of actual ill-treatment we get hardly any mention. Mrs. R. Davids has pointed out two instances of beating of slaves.[92] We are told, in both the cases the victims were maids. One of them was too lazy and kept lying in bed repeatedly (to test her pious mistress's temper).[93] We find ten other instances of this sort. Thus in the Vessantara Jātaka we read the story of the cruel master who tied the hands of a boy and a girl with a creeper, beat them

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and drove them on, while blood ran through the whip cuts which they received.[94] In the Rajjumāla-Vimāna (Vimānavathu or Vimānvastu) the maidservant named *Rajjumāla* was abused, beaten and ill-treated in all possible ways which made her escape in the jungle, where she tried to commit suicide.[95] Perhaps owing to the inhuman treatments, the Buddha enjoined in the Sigālovāda sutta, that the master should fulfil his duty towards slaves and hirelings in five ways, (i) by assigning them work according to their capacity. (ii) By providing them wages and food. (iii) Tending them while they were sick. (iv) Granting them leave at times and (v) also granting special leave for festivals with extra food and adornment.[96] Further the Buddha forbade his disciples to accept slaves either males or females and he set the example himself.[97] The general treatment meted out to slaves was thus not an unmixed evil, on the other hand special stress was laid on the proper and kind behaviour towards slaves and hirelings by their master and owners. It is stated that those who do not heed to the claims of their slaves (*dāsa*) and hirelings (*āhitika*), should be taught their duty.[98] Further it has been pointed out that one should not quarrel with slaves.[99] Even if a slave offends his master, he should bear it without resentment as that of his brother, wife, son and daughter.[100]

But the condition of slaves in other countries was not so favourable. They were nowhere treated in equal terms with that of one's brother, son, wife and daughter. On the other hand we often find a very awful picture of the condition of slaves in other coun-

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tries. Sometimes they were treated in most inhuman fashion and kept chained like beasts of burden. In India the slaves were generally employed in domestic works but in other countries they were employed as field labourers, workers in mines and workshops. Thus in Rome due to the immense extension of rural estates (latifundia), effective superintendence of slaves became quite difficult. As a result the use of chains were introduced. These were worn by both men and women, not only in the field during working hours, but at night in *ergastulum*—where they slept. The life of urban slaves was perhaps slightly better. Corporal punishment from light to severe types, were inflicted on slaves unhesitatingly. The light punishments inflicted by masters, were commonly personal chastisement or banishment from the house to rural labour. As a severe punishment, the slaves were employed in the mill (*pistrinum*), or relegated to mines or quarries. In mines they worked half-naked, in chains, both men and women, under the lash and were guarded by soldiers. Cato advised agriculturists to sell his old oxen and old slaves as well as sick ones. Sick slaves were often exposed in forsaken islands in the Tiber.[101] And not unfrequently, as Cato points out, the "early Roman slave-masters frankly treated their staff as 'vocal instruments' and relied upon the fear of punishment by scourging or chaining, as sovereign inducement to work."[102] Thus the treatment meted out to slaves was brutal to the extreme.

Slaves in Greece

The condition of domestic and urban slaves in

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Athens (in Greece), was not altogether bad. They had their own festivals in Athens and other Greek centres, and they were even allowed to participate in some of the popular festivals. They could marry but were excluded from sacred ceremonies and public sacrifices. But the life of those slaves who worked in workshops was as wretched as that of their fellow sufferers in Rome. They generally worked under overseers who themselves belonged to servile status. These and other slaves who served as agricultural labourers worked in chains and were treated like beasts.[103] We also read of slaves being put to death in Rome.[104]

Slaves in Chinese Turkestan

The same inhuman treatment was meted out to slaves, in some Asiatic countries. Thus in the *Kharoṣṭhī* document from Chinese Turkestan, we get plenty of information regarding the position of serfs and slaves from second to fourth century A.D. But the picture that we get from it about the status of servile class, is quite a dark one. Slaves were treated as dumb cattle and at times they were beaten to death.[105] But if it could be proved that a slave had actually died of beating, monetary compensation had to be paid.[106] Sometimes slaves were beaten and carried away.[107] Ratan Ch. Agarwal has pointed out, that beating of slaves was a common feature in Chinese Turkestan.[108] It is further pointed out in the Tibetan documents from Chinese Turkestan, that slaves were put on hire and let out to individuals.[109] They were treated as mere chattels and could be sold, transferred or given away according to the sweet will of their masters.[110] A slave

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could be transferred for a value[111] of 110 *muli*. A man '*Chaṁga*' passed through many hands.[112] Slaves could be exchanged freely like property. There was regular exchange of slaves between monks and officers,[113] and between the community of monks and laymen.[114] They could be lent out on hire and a certain person called *Kaṃki*, was hired out to *Jihmaya*.[115]

In India, however, slaves were not treated with such towering callousness. Indian slaves were mostly employed as household servants, and they were not usually treated cruelly. We meet with few instances of chastisement of slaves by their masters. But rarely such chastisement took the form of gross ill-treatment, as it did in the case of slaves who worked in Grecian mines and Roman agricultural fields. In the Nāma Siddhi Jātaka we read about the beating of a female slave by her master and mistress, because she could not bring home her wages.[116] Here we find a veiled allusion to the hiring out of slaves for wages, to other persons. If they failed to bring home wages they received blows and lashes at the hands of their owners. It is also clear from the story, that female slaves, though ordinarily engaged in domestic works, sometimes were required to earn money for their masters.

Status of female slaves

As we have already stated, female slaves were generally employed as house maids and personal attendants of their masters. Kauṭilya tells us that female slaves, of proved integrity were required to serve as bath-attendants and shampooer's. They also worked as bed-room attendants, laundresses and garland makers.

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It was their duty to provide the king with his bath water, perfumes, bath cosmetics etc., after thoroughly examining their purity.[117] Kauṭilya makes this statement in connection with the rules concerning the protection of king's person. In another place Kauṭilya says that such women should pay 24,000 *paṇas* as ransom to regain their freedom and for their son they should pay 12,000 *paṇas*.[118] When such women became old and were incapable of rendering any service, they were sent away to work in the store house or kitchen of the king.[119] But if a master had a child by a female slave, both of them were forthwith liberated.[120] Female slaves were thus relegated to a very low status in society, and no regard whatsoever, was paid to their virtues. Kauṭilya, however, has tried to safeguard their position by pronouncing a punition on the man who attempted to violate the chastity of his female slave. For the above offence, the master had to forfeit the money paid for her.[121]

Functions and duties of slaves

The duties of slaves, most of whom were employed in domestic spheres, comprised personal attendances like handing over the plates while the master took his meals, bringing the spittoon, fetching fans, bringing water and ministering to him when he retired. According to Kaṭāhaka Jātaka such and other handy works were usually done by slaves.[122] Female slaves were ordinarily given the duty of pounding and winnowing of rice,[123] and spreading it out in the sun.[124] Some menial works were also done by them. Thus a slave girl

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named Piṅgala, washed the feet of her master and his family before they retired at night and waited at the door sill the whole night at her master's beck and call.[125] Certain impure works were relegated to them by some later authorities. Thus according to Nārada they should sweep yards and stables, gather and remove the leavings of food, and other dirty things and rub master's limbs at his wish.[126] They used to work in the store or kitchen[127] fetched water[128] and were sent on errands.[129] Kauṭilya, however, is more humane in his attitude towards slaves. He forbids a man to take such works from his slave as carrying the dead or sweeping ordure or remains of food.[130] Kauṭilya thus, unlike Nārada and other later authorities, does not favour the idea of compelling the slaves to do impure and dirty works.

Slaves employed in tillage and productive agencies

Indian slaves, though mostly employed in domestic spheres, yet in some cases they were also required to work in agricultural estates. Thus it is stated by Kauṭilya that slaves, labourers and prisoners (*daṇḍa-pratikartṛ*), should be employed to sow seeds on crown-lands, which had been satisfactorily ploughed.[131] He further ordains, that such workers should be supplied provisions in proportion to the amount of work done by them[132] Servile labourers, about whom we find reference here, were royal or state slaves. They were required to work in state farms along with condemned criminals and rendered manual labour in lieu of fines. Whether private lands were also tilled by slave labour or not we do not know for certain. Sometimes the

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king's slaves fought in his army.[133] Evidently, therefore, the Indian slaves besides their domestic services like managing of households, attending on the masters and serving as personal escorts, had other duties and functions. Like slaves of other countries they were employed, though in comparatively few cases, in other spheres especially in spheres of production.

There were certain state monopolies which were worked by persons undergoing penal servitude. Kauṭilya has referred to *daṇḍopakārin* and *daṇḍapratikartṛ* several times in his treatise.[134] Such persons served as state slaves. According to Kauṭilya a *daṇḍapratikartṛ* might buy back his freedom by personal labour. In his discourse on mines and factories, he has stated that persons operating the mines without permission, along with thieves and those who offered personal labour in lieu of fines, should be compelled to render forced labour in mines (of precious stones and metals).[135] From his statements it is clear, that mines and quarries of precious stones and metals, were generally operated by forced labour from persons undergoing judicial punishment. Pliny[136] and Ptolemy[137] referred to India as a rich store house of costly gems. We also learn from Kauṭilya that gem industry was already a state monopoly by his time. Demand for precious stones was increasing daily not only in home markets but the craze captured the foreign markets as well. The early centuries of the Christian era saw a brisk rise in trade relationship between India and abroad. The main items of trade were luxury goods including pearls gems,

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ivory etc. Arrian remarked that of the luxury goods the pearls, unknown to the west before Alexander, now came from India and the Persian Gulf, and were highly valued by women as ornaments.[138] To meet the vogue, the jewel mines and pearl-fisheries were brought under state control and were manned not only free labourers but also by criminals who served as state slaves. We learn from Ptolemy as well as from the author of Periplus that pearl-fisheries of South and lower Ganges sites were specially famous. In Mahābhārata[139] also, we find indirect references about the lower Ganges fisheries. The author of Periplus stated that the pearl-fisheries of 'Colchi' (Koṛkai on the Tāmraparṇī river in Pāṇḍyan Kingdom), were operated by condemned criminals.[140]

Besides the gem industry and fisheries, there were other state concerns where servile labour was profitably utilized. Kauṭilya enjoined that old female slaves of kings and female slaves of temples, who were no longer of any use, might be employed in textile industries along with *daṇḍapratikāriṇī*.[141] The statements of the above writers are quite revealing. They prove beyond doubt, that servile labour in ancient India was not only utilized in domestic spheres, but industrial and other productive concerns were dependent, to some extent, on slave labour. Servile labour in our country, however, never posed a problem to free labourers, as it did in other parts of the ancient world. India never had to face a real proletariat problem like Greece and Rome, due to encroachment of slaves on free labour and there was hardly any monopolization of a particular industry

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by slaves. But there can be no doubt that slave labour in India had its productive importance.[142]

One thing must be noted here, viz., though Indian slaves were employed in agricultural estates, worked in mines and factories and fought on behalf of their masters, yet their life was not so wretched and unbearable as that of their fellow sufferers in other parts of the world. Duties and functions of slaves in India were neither bound by any hard and fast rules, nor there was any rigid demarcation between the slaves who worked in households, and those who were employed in agricultural fields and other undertakings. But in Rome we come across a clear distinction between the two types of slaves, the *servi publici* and *servi privati.* Slaves who came under the category of *servi publici,* were employed in works like the construction of roads, the cleaning of sewers and the maintenance of aqueducts. Sometimes they were even employed in lower offices of the state like couriers of magisterial courts, servants of the law-courts, that of prison houses and of temples, etc. The slaves of a private individual in Rome, were further divided between *familia rustica* and *familia urbane.* At the head of the *familia rustica* was the *Villein,* who himself was a slave. Under him worked other slaves. Some of them looked after the cattle and flocks, others prepared food, clothing and tools of the whole staff, and still others attended the master in the various kinds of rural sports. A slave prison was also a part of *familia rustica.*

Slave actors and circus performers

To *familia urbane* belonged those slaves who

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served as domestic attendants and aided his master in the service of toilet and bath. Helped him at table and kitchen. Provided entertainments to him and his guests by dancing, singing and other arts. Actors comic and tragic, pantomime, and other performers of the circus, commonly belonged to servile class. The gladiators belonged to the same class.[143] Indian slaves were also required to provide entertainments to the people in general, by musical and other performances. From Kauṭilya we learn, that special teachers were appointed by the state for the purpose of imparting training to courtesans and female slaves (who lived by the stage), in music, dance, acting and other fine arts.[144]

Slaves were sometimes made to work in the villages of their masters away from their actual residence, e.g. the Quasi Coloni or Predial slaves in Rome.[145] The same was the case with slaves of Chinese Turkestan. Besides the menial works, which they had to do in their master's households, they worked in farms in the villages of their landlords.[146] The Spartan Helots or slaves, on the other hand, were kept in obedience under systematic terroism.[147] In Indian literature too, we find instances of subjugation of slaves through corporal punishments. Thus it is stated in the Mahābhārata that men who keep slaves, control them by beating, binding and by otherwise subjugating them, make them work day and night.[148]

In the Jātakas we are told, that sometimes run-away slaves acted as impostors and secured entry into

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the society of freemen. But the masters, even when they realized that they had been deceived by their slaves, did not take revenge by exposing the identity of such impostors.[149] In other cases, well-meaning slaves were found running to towns to get dainty eatables for their sick masters.[150] We thus find, that the general relationship between a master and his slave, in most cases, was quite amiable. But it might have differed according to the nature and temperament of both master and his slave. We learn from the Jātakas that slaves were treated with fondness. They were permitted to learn writing, arts and crafts besides ordinary duties as valet, footmen, etc.[151] Thus the duties, ordinarily done by slaves were none too harsh. On the other hand some authorities have prescribed, that if a master compelled a slave to carry a corpse or sweep ordure, urine or leavings of food, or kept him naked, beat him or abused him, he would forfeit the price paid by him for the slave.[152] Slaves were thus treated with kindness and affection and were usually regarded as a member of the household. It is no doubt true that there were a few cases of runaway slaves. Jātakas furnish us with two such cases.[153] But in both the cases, the slaves left their masters because they had become over ambitious and wanted to try their luck elsewhere.

Social and legal status of slaves in India

The condition of slaves in India, as represented by *Pāli* literature, Arthaśāstra and Manu, on the whole was none too bad. There were some cases of beating and other forms of corporal punishments. But the general treatment was far more equitable and rational

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than those depicted in the later Dharma Śāstra and Smṛti literature. Though the treatment of slaves and the works relegated to them were none too harsh or offensive, yet their social status was despicable. Normally people were discouraged to have any social contacts with them. Thus Mahānāma, the Śākya noble, refused to dine with his own daughter Vāsabhakhattiyā, because she was slave-born. And king Viḍūḍabha—though he and his mother were given proper status and recognition by the king of Kośala—the father, were insulted by the maternal relations. So much so that even a slave woman contemptuously called Viḍūḍabha 'son of a slave girl', while washing the seat which had been used by him.[154] *Dāsīputta* is used as a grave form of abuse in the Mahābhārata[155] as well as in the Jātakas.[156] In the Nānachanda Jātaka the female slave Puṇṇā, who received a boon along with the other members of her master's family, was called '*jammī*' or 'low, contemptible' by his master.[157] Manu attaches further stigma to their social status and classifies the slave girls in the same category as that of female camels, buffaloes, cows, she-goats and ewes.[158] The social status of slaves in India was thus none too happy, though ordinarily they were treated mildly and affectionately by their masters.

Property rights of slaves

Kauṭilya allowed even property rights to slaves. According to him a slave could retain what he earned and even what he inherited from his ancestors. He further stated that the property of a slave should pass into the hands of his kinsmen, and in case he had no kinsman, his master could take it.[159] Kauṭilya thus

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gave full right to a slave and his kinsmen over the property, which he either earned or acquired. Manu, on the other hand, allowed no such right to a slave. According to him slaves could have no property of their own, the wealth which they earned was acquired for him to whom they belonged.[160] Kātyāyana says, that the only wealth which a slave could call his own, was the price he received by selling himself or what the master gave him as a gift through favour.[161] Similar was the lot of the slaves in Rome. Here also the slaves could not possess property of any kind. Whatever he acquired was legally that of his master's. He was, however, permitted to enjoy and accumulate chance earnings and savings under the name of *peculium*.[162] Slaves were thus normally denied the right of property, and even if they earned any that went to their master's pocket.[163]

The slaves neither in our country, nor in any other country, had any legal status in true sense of the term. By the original law, the master's power extended over the life of his slave and even the slave could be put to death by his master's order. Slavery or servitude meant complete loss of one's persona and complete surrender of one's human rights. As we have already seen, slaves came to be regarded as one's property, such as oxen, buffaloes, gold and silver.[164] The master had the right to drag the slave back if he ran away.[165] If a slave twice mortgaged his life then he became guilty of an offence, which would make him a slave for life.[166] Thus a slave had no legal status or rights worth mentioning

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and the master could take the life of his slaves without any serious consequence. Thus we read the story of a Brāhmaṇa employer, who clubbed to death the guard of his sugarcane field, because he built a hut to accommodate some *Bhikkhus* and had given them canes to eat.[167] In the Jātakas we read how the daughter of a *seṭṭhī* was panic-stricken lest her father would cut her and her slave lover to pieces if he heard of their relationship.[168]

Even the fundamental rights, ordinarily granted to citizens, were denied to slaves. According to Manu, one who was wholly dependent (i.e. a slave by birth),[169] could not be made a witness.[170] Only in exeptional cases where qualified witnesses could not be procured, evidence might be given by a slave and a hired servant, along with others, viz., a woman, an infant, an aged man, a pupil and a relative, who were ordinarily disqualified for such a task.[171] In spite of the fact that slaves of our country were ordinarily deprived of fundamental legal rights, some of our ancient authorities granted them the right to legal protection against unjust behaviour of their masters. Kauṭilya drew up a long list of rules in order to ensure legal protection to slaves against unjust and unseemly behaviour of their masters. Thus for depriving a slave of his money, or depriving him of the previleges of an *Ārya,* he imposed a fine of half the amount, that was levied for enslaving the life of an *Ārya.* Further, for forcing a slave to do the undesirable, a man might forfeit the money paid by him for his slave. If a master behaved in an unseemly manner towards female slave, who was pledged to him, or allow-

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ed other persons to do the same to her, he not only forfeited the purchase value, but also had to pay a certain amount of money (*śulka*) to her. A fine of twice the amount (of *śulka*) was paid to the government.

Special rules have been laid down by Kauṭilya for child slaves. He thus imposed a fine on those who employed a slave, less than eight years in age and who had no relatives, to do vile works, or sold and mortgaged him in a foreign land against his will. Even if the pledged boy was a born slave or had fallen to his master's share of inheritance, or had been purchased or obtained by his master, he had no right to employ the boy in foreign land or compel him to do dirty works against his desires. Kauṭilya also prescribed punishment for the man who sold along with the purchaser and the abettor, a pregnant female slave without making provision for her confinement. A fine of 12 *paṇas* might be imposed on those who failed to liberate a slave even after receiving ransom, or kept him under confinement throughout the season. The same fine of 12 *paṇas* was levied on the person who sold or mortgaged a slave, either male or female, who had once been liberated, with the exception of those who enslaved themselves out of their own free choice. Provisions were made by Kauṭilya to safeguard the position of an under aged boy, so that his kins could not take advantage of his tender age. Thus Kauṭilya prescribed that for selling or mortgaging the life of a Śūdra of under age, who was an *Ārya* (i.e. a freeman) by birth, and not a born slave, a person should be punished with a fine of 12 *paṇas*. For selling or mortgaging a Vaiśya boy

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a fine of 24 *paṇas,* that of a kshatriya boy 36 *paṇas* and that of a Brāhmaṇa boy 48 *paṇas* were prescribed by Kauṭilya. If the same offence was committed by a stranger then he was liable to three amercements and capital punishment. Purchasers and abettors were likewise punished.[172] Kauṭilya is thus very generous in his injunctions towards slaves and makes rational and equitable rules to safeguard their position in the eyes of law. No other legalist in our country shows such humane and liberal disposition towards slaves. But for Kauṭilya, the legal status of slaves in India, would have been in the same miserable plight as in other ancient countries.

In Chinese Turkestan we come across instances of maltreatment of slaves by state authorities.[173] The matter though reported to still higher authorities, who sent instructions to check the evil, nothing was done. In another case, justice was actually delayed in the murder case of a certain slave. It was the master of this slave who sued for him in the court,[174] because the relatives of the aforementioned slave had no right to sue for him in the court.[175] But an Athenian slave could claim an action for outrage like a freeman and his death at the hand of a stranger was avenged like that of any other citizen of Greece. If his death was caused at the hand of his master, then the latter would be punished by exile and a religious expiation. Even when a slave had killed his master, his relatives could not punish him. They had to hand him over to the magistrate to be dealt with legally. The slave, who had any grounds for complaint against his master, could

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demand to be sold and when he asserted his right to liberty he was granted a defender by the court. He could take shelter in the sanctuary till the judgment was given.[176] The life of a Roman slave was not so smooth as that of Grecian slaves. Even the union of a male and female slave could not get the legal sanction of marriage and could be dissolved at will by the master. Roman slave could not be examined as a witness except under torture. Neither could he accuse his master except of adultery or incest. An accused slave could not seek the protection of law. The penalties which were inflicted on them were of special strictness.[177] We thus find that the legal position of slaves in almost all countries excepting, in Greece and to some extent in India, was of no avail. In other words, they had no legal status at all. Perhaps some generosity was extended towards them in the shape of their manumission or emancipation. But even the rules guiding this factor were not always equitable and magnanimous.

Emancipation of slaves

Though no legal status worth mentioning, was granted to slaves, yet we often come across instances of manumission of slaves. Emancipation of slaves, could be effected in two ways, viz., (a) through monetary payment, and (b) through master's favour. Thus it was prescribed that the ransom necessary for a slave to regain his freedom was equal to his purchase value. On paying that amount a slave could regain his *Āryahood.* The same rule could be applied to a born or a pledged slave.[178] If a master had a child by a female slave, both the mother and the child were at once liberated.[179]

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Manu is silent on this subject. Only in one place he says, that a Śūdra (and here most probably he refers to a slave) can never be released from servitude. Curiously enough Nārada makes some provisions for the emancipation of slaves. He says that four kinds of slaves, viz., (a) one born in the house, (b) one bought, (c) one acquired (by gift or other means), and (d) one inherited could not be liberated from slavery except by the favour of the master.[180] According to the above rule, other kinds of slaves could be liberated through payment or something of that sort. Nārada makes exception only in the case of those who sell themselves (which according to him is the worst form of slavery). He says that they could not be emancipated under any circumstance.[181] He further says that when a master, being pleased with a slave wants to make him free, he should take from the slave's shoulder, a jar full of water and break it.[182] Probably this was done with a view to indicate that the man was no longer under bondage.

Instances of emancipation of slaves through master's favour are found in the Jātakas. Thus in the Sonananda Jātaka we read the story of a rich Brāhmaṇa magnate of Banaras, who while retiring to the life of asceticism, disposed of all his wealth in charity and made freemen all his slaves.[183] We find other instances of manumission of slaves in *Pāli* literature, which were done through master's favour,[184] and through payment.[185] In Kharoṣṭhī document there is a single instance of a slave seeking freedom after making some payment (as ransom or *toli mukesi*) for his life. We are told that the ransom paid was not sufficient.[186]

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Justa regular and minus justa

In Greece, a slave could purchase his liberty with *peculium*. He could be liberated during his master's life time by a proclamation in the theatre, law-courts and other public places.[187] In Rome manumission became fairly common among certain groups, because it was often a pecuniary advantage to the master to emancipate his slave. The ransom which he received thereby, could enable him to buy a new slave and at the same time gain a client. In Rome a slave could be manumitted in two manners, viz., *justa regular* and *minus justa*. Of manumission *justa* there were four kinds (a) by adoption, (b) by testament, (c) by census and (d) by *vindicata*. The manumission *minus justa* was effected through considerable manifestations and formalities on the part of the master. Thus in Rome we find slavery as a well organized institution with separate laws guiding the different aspects of servile life. Though some slaves, specially the field workers and workers in mines and quarries, were harshly treated by their masters, yet ample provisions were made to safeguard their positions in the eyes of law. The same was the condition of the Athenian slaves. Slavery in India, though not so well organized and rigorous in the beginning, acquired all the essential features of that institution in due course of time.

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2. According to Schoff, Dioscorida was situated nearer the Arabian coast than the African in point of population and language if not in location, as the author of Periplus asserts. Peri. of Ery. p. 133, note 30.
3. Was a port in Arabia, Peri. of Ery., pp. 25, 28, 30 ff.
4. The text has Limyrikê which according to Schoff is incorrect. He suggests that it should be *Damirikê*. *Damirica* means the 'country of Tamils,' i.e. Southern Dravidians and in the 1st century it included the *Chera, Pāṇḍya* and *Chola* Kingdoms. (Peri. of Ery. notes, p. 205, note 53).
5. Modern Broach, Greek rendering of *Prākṛt, Bharukacha,* Peri. of Ery., p. 180, note 41.
6. Peri. of Ery. (No. 31), p. 34.
7. Ibid. (No. 35-36), p. 36.
8. Modern Ujjain, the chief city of Mālwā. In early times it was known as Avanti, a kingdom which is described in Buddhist literature as one of the chief four powers of India. Peri. of Ery., p. 187, note 48.
9. Peri. of Ery. (No. 49), p. 42.
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11. Ap. Dh. Sūt., II. 4.9.11.
12. Jāt., VI, p. 285.
13. Sāma. Ph.-sutta., II. 72, S.B.B., Vol. II., Max Müller, p. 83.
14. Brah. Jāla-sutta, I. 22; S.B.B., Vol. II, Max Müller, p. 19.
15. Brah. Jāla-sutta, I, 10; S.B.B., Vol. II Max Müller, p. 5.
16. Aṅguttara Nikāya, Pañchaka Nipāta Upāsakavagga; Vide 'Insc. of Aśoka,' pt. II, Trans. & Glossary, p. 307-8.
17. Sām. Pha.-sutta, II. 35. 36; S.B.B., Vol. II, Max Müller, p. 77.

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18. S.B.E., Vol. XIII; Vinaya Texts, I. 199.
19. Ibid., I. 230.
20. S.B.B., Vol. II, Max Müller, p. 103.
21. Sabhāparva, 52, 29; Vanaparva, 232, 46; Virāṭa., 18, 21; Vanaparva, 185, 34; Vide Mahābh., Bangavasi edn., edited by Pancanan Tarkatirtha.
22. Mahābh., IV. 33, 59.
23. Manu, VIII. 415.
24. Arth., BK. III, Chap. 13.
25. Mahābh., I, 23, 3–4.
26. Manu, VIII. 413.
27. Ibid., 414.
28. Ibid., 415.
29. Ibid., 253.
30. Ibid., VIII. 412.
31. Artha., BK. III, Chap. 13; Viṣṇu, 5. 151; Nārada, 5. 38; Manu, VIII. 412.
32. Majjhima Nikāya; Vide 'Insc. of Aśoka,' pt. II, Trans. & Glossary, p. 308.
33. Artha., BK. III, Chap. 13.
34. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XX, 14th edn., p. 773.
35. Manu, VIII. 415.
36. J., IV. 220; VI. 135.
37. Livy (Titus Livius), XLI, 28; Perioche, LXVIII.
38. Appian, Mithradates, 61 and 78.
39. Livy, XLV, 34, 5; Refer "Mob Violence in the late Roman Republic" (133–49 B.C.) by Heaton, J.W., p. 12.
40. Ref. "Mob Violence in the late Roman Republic," p. 12.
41. Kaṭāhaka Jat. (J.I, p. 276, Eng. Translation).
42. Jāt., VI. 110, I, 452.

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43. Manu, VIII. 415.
44. Kauṭ., Artha., BK. III. 13.
45. J., VI. (No. 545), *Pāli* Edn., Fausböll.
46. J., I. (p. 452).
47. Manu, IX. 55.
48. Artha., BK. III, Chap. 13.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Mahāvagga, I. 29.1; Vide S.B.E., Vol. XIII, R. Davids and Oldenburg, p. 191; Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī, I. 168 (Comment. on Dīgha Nikāya, ed. R. Davids); Saṁyutta Nikāya.
52. J., VI. 135; Vide 'Soc. & Rural Econ. of N.I.,' Basu, A.N., Vol. II, p. 411.
53. J., VI. 87; Vide Ibid.
54. 'History of Rome,' by M. Cary, p. 75.
55. Manu, VIII. 415.
56. Strabo, Geographica, XIV. 5. 2; Vide 'Mob Violence in the Late Roman Republic,' Heaton, p. 12.
57. 'Mob Violence in the Late Roman Republic,' p. 12.
58. Peri. of Ery., pp. 34, 36, 42.
59. Jāt., VI. 285.
60. Jāt., I. 224, 299; Vide 'Social and Rural Economy,' Vol. II, p. 407.
61. Jāt., III, p. 211 (Eng. Translation).
62. Manu, VIII. 415.
63. Kauṭ., BK. III, Chap. 13.
64. Manu, VIII. 415.
65. Nārada, *Abhyupetyāśuśrusa* quoted by Kane, 'Hist. of Dh. Sāst.,' Vol. II. pt. I, p. 184.
66. Peri. of Ery., p. 42; Vide also, p. 176.

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67. Artha., BK. III, Chap. 13.
68. Nārada, *Abhyupetyāśuśrusa;* Ref. Kane, 'Hist. of Dh Śāstra,' Vol. II, pt. I, p. 184.
69. Manu, VIII. 415.
70. Artha., BK. III, Chap. 13.
71. Jāt., I. 200, Tr. (Eng.), I, p. 76.
72. J., VI, p. 463 (No. 546).
73. Kauṭ, BK. III, Chap. 13, p. 232.
74. Manu, VIII, 415.
75. Nārada, V. 32–34.
76. Kauṭ, BK. III, Chap. 13, p. 232; Nārada, V. 32–34.
77. Colchi—is modern *Koṛkai.* At the time of the Periplus it was one of the chief ports of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom (Peri. of Ery., p. 237, note 59).
78. Peri. of Ery., p. 46.
79. Narāda, Vide 'Hist. of Dh. Śāstra,' Vol. II, pt. I, p. 185.
80. Ref. 'Social and Rural Eco. in N.I.,' Vol. II, p. 411.
81. Mahābh., I. 16. 20.
82. Refer. Kane, 'Hist. of Dh. Śāstra', Vol. II, pt. I, p. 185.
83. Nārada. V. 37.
84. Vide Manu, p. 326 footnote, VIII. 415.
85. Yāgñ., II. 183.
86. Nārada, V, 39.
87. Kātyāyana quoted by Aparārka, p. 788; Compare Nārada, Abhu., 39.
88. Vide Kane, 'Hist. of Dh. Śāstra', Vol. II. pt. I, p. 185.
89. Manu, VIII. 415 footnote.
90. C.H.I., Vol. I, p. 205.
91. Kaṭāhaka Jāt. (Eng. Trans.), Vol. I, 276.
92. C.H.I., Vol. I, p. 205.
93. Majj. Nik., I. 125.

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94. Jāt., VI. 546. f.
95. Vimāna Vathu, Vide 'Soc. & Rural Economy', Vol. II, p. 419–20.
96. Mookerjee, 'Aśoka', p. 154.
97. Dīgha Nik, I, p. 5 Ref. 'Ins. of Aśoka,' Barua, pt. II, p. 308.
98. Artha., BK. II, Chap. 1, p. 53.
99. Manu, IV. 180.
100. Ibid., IV. 185.
101. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XX, 14th Edn., p. 770.
102. Cary, 'Hist. of Rome', p. 260.
103. Ency, Brita., Vol. XX, 14th edn., p. 774.
104. Ibid., p. 776.
105. Document no. 115, Vide "Position of Slaves and Serfs as depicted in the '*Kharoṣṭhī* Documents'" by Ratan Ch. Agarwal, I.H.Q., June 1953, p. 101.
106. Docu. 144, Vide I.H.Q., June 1953, p. 101 ff.
107. Docu. 156, Ibid.
108. Docu. 56, 324, 491, Ibid. p. 102.
109. C/o Thomas, J.R.A.S., 1934, p. 102–3, Vide I.H.Q., June 1953, p. 102.
110. Docu. 133, 143, vide I.H.Q., June 1953.
111. Vide I.H.Q., June 1953, p. 103.
112. Docu. 575, Vide IH.Q., June 1953, p. 103.
113. Docu. No. Vide I.H.Q., June 1953.
114. Docu. No. 322, and 187, I.H.Q., June 1953.
115. Vide I.H.Q., June 1953.
116. Jāt., I. 402.
117. Artha., BK. I., Chap., XXI.
118. Ibid., BK. II, Chap., XXVII.
119. Ibid.

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120. Artha., BK. III, Chap. XIII.
121. Ibid.
122. Kaṭāhaka Jātaka (Eng. Tr., No. 125), Vol. I, p. 276.
123. Jāt., I. 248; II. 428; III. 342 ff.
124. Jāt., I. 484.
125. Jāt., III. 100.
126. Nārada, V. 6-7; Jāt., VI. 138.
127. Kauṭ., Artha., BK. II, Chap. XXVII.
128. Jāt., V. 284, 412.
129. Ibid., I. 350.
130. Artha., BK. III, Chap. XIII, p. 231.
131. Ibid., BK. II, Chap. XXIV, P. 142.
132. Ibid., P. 146.
133. Rāmāy., II. 84–7; Jāt. V. 412, Vide. 'Soc & Rural Economy of N.I.' Bose, A.N., Vol. II, P. 414.
134. Kauṭ., Artha., II. 12. 21; II, 23. 2; II. 24. 2, and III. 13, 18.
135. Ibid. II. 12. 21.
136. Gem. bearing India, Pliny, XXVII, 76.
137. Diamonds at Kosa etc.; Ptolemy, VII. 1. 17, 65, 71, 76, 80.
138. Arrian. Ind., 8. 11.
139. Mbh., ii. 30, 39.
140. Peri. of Ery., p. 46, note 59.
141. Kauṭ., Artha., II, 23.2.
142. Refer author's article on 'Employment of slaves in tillage and productive agencies in Anct. India." ('Indian studies past and present.' Vol. XIII. No. 4 July–Sept. 1972).
143. Ency. Brita., Vol. XX, 14th. edn., P. 775.
144. Kauṭ., Artha; II. 27. 28.

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145. Ency. Brita; Vol. XX, 14th. edn. P. 778.
146. Kharoṣṭhī docu. No. 550, 31, Vide I.H.Q., June 1953. pp. 99, 100.
147. Ency. Brita., Vol. XX, 4th edn., p. 776.
148. Mahābh. XII. 261. 38 f.
149. Kalanduka Jāt., Vol. I, p. 280 (Tr.) Kaṭāhaka Jāṭ.
150. Māṁsa Jāt., III. 49.
151. C.H.I., Vol. I, p. 205.
152. Artha., BK. III, Chap. XIII.
153. Kaṭāhaka Jāt. (Tr.), Vol. I, p. 276 (No. 125); Kalanduka Jāt., No. 127 (tr.), Vol. I, p. 280.
154. Jāt., IV. 145, 147.
155. Mahābh., I. 16. 19. ff.
156. Jāt., I. 225; III. 233; IV. 41.
157. Jāt., II. 428.
158. Manu, IX. 48.
159. Artha., BK. III, Chap. XIII.
160. Manu, VIII. 416.
161. Kāty. 724, Vide 'Hist of Dh. Śāstra,' Vol. II, pt. I, p. 186.
162. Ency. Brita., Vol. XX, 14th edn., p. 775.
163. Mahābh., I. 82. 22. ff.; V. 33. 68; Nāra., V. 41.
164. Jāt. I. 341.
165. Kāṭāhaka and Kalanduka Jātakas (Tr.), Vol. I. p. 276 and p. 280.
166. Artha., BK. III, Chap XIII. Nārada, V. 40; Jāt., VI. 138.
167. Nāgavimāna, V. 13; 'Soc. & Rural Econ.' by Bose, A.N., Vol. II, p. 420.
168. Jat., I. 120, Vide 'Soc. & Rural Eco.' Vol. II, p. b20.
169. Manu, VIII. 66 footnote.
170. Ibid., VIII. 66.

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171. Manu, VIII. 70.
172. Kauṭilya, Arthaśastra, BK. III, Chap. XIII.
173. *Kharoṣṭhī,* docu. No. 696, Refer I.H.Q., June 1953, p. 103.
174. *Kharoṣṭhī,* docu. No. 144, Refer I.H.Q., June 1953, p. 104.
175. 'Position of Slaves and Serfs as depicted in the *Kharoṣṭhī* document from Chinese Turkestan,' I.H.Q., 1953. June, p. 104.
176. Ency. Brita., Vol. XX. 14th. edn., p. 774.
177. Ibid., p. 775-6.
178. Kauṭ., BK., III. Chap. XIII.
179. Ibid.
180. Nārada, V. 29.
181. Ibid., V. 39.
182. Ibid., V. 42–30.
183. Jāt. V, No. 532, p. 165 (Eng. Trans.).
184. Dīgha Nik., I. 72; Therīgāthā, p. 117; Theragāthā, p. 22.
185. Jāt., VI. 547.
186. Docu. No. 585, Refer 'Position of Slaves and Serfs as dipicted in the *Kh. Docu.* from Chinese Turkestan,' I.H.Q., June 1953, p. 105.
187. Ency. Brita, Vol. XX, 14th edn., 774.

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Chapter V

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The history of Indian dress and ornaments provides interesting study. Dress habits of our country did not undergo a marked change in the early stages of our history. But the flighty mood of fashion reflected itself in the varied types of clothes and ornaments preferred by persons belonging to different strata of life. The dress of kings and nobles differed from that of commoners. Laymen wore garments that were tabooed for persons belonging to religious orders. Different religious orders prescribed different types of dress for their members. Buddhist monks wore chequered robes. We learn from *Pāli* literature[1] that the robes of monks were made of pieces of rags stitched together. In the Vinaya texts we find mention of village paddy fields which were cut into plots by dividing ditches. These very fields served as pattern for the patchwork robes, which the Buddha prescribed for his Order. He enjoined that the monks should wear tattered pieces of cast-away rags pieced together, " a thing which could not be coveted."[2] The panels of Amarāvatī also represent the monks dress of chequered pattern,[3] suggestive of square plots of field divided by irrigation channels. But the square pieces of monk's dress, as represented in Amarāvatī panels are systematically arranged and give the impression of sophisticated tailoring rather than pieces of rags stitched together.

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Dress habits of people also varied according to different circumstances in life. The dress of a *Snātaka* differed from that of an ordinary student. Manu ordained that the *Snātaka* should not wear old and soiled clothes. He should be dressed in white, and should always be immaculate in his dress and appearance, with his nails, hair and beard properly cut and groomed.[4] The *Brahmachārin,* on the other hand, was required to observe strict discipline not only in his thought, speech and action but also in his dress habits. Baudhāyana says that the *Snātaka* should be clad in two garments, he should carry a staff made of bamboo and should wear sacred thread or *Yajñopavīta*.[5] Man about the town or the *Nāgaraka,* was generally quite meticulous about his dress. In Vātsyāyana we find frequent mention of flowers and perfumes that satisfied the choosy tastes of lovers.[6] We have references about various types of dress suited to the various moods of people. We learn that dress of love-lorn persons differed from that of *abhisārikā*.[7] The *abhisārikās* dressed in blue or white apparel depending on the new or full moon night. The wife separated from her beloved did not like to wear ornaments producing sweet tinkling sounds in her waist or ankles. The housewife wore a veil in public to avoid the curious glances of the passers by.[8]

The dress reflected the joyous as well as melancholy dispositions of persons. Different dresses for different occasions were popular. Hunting dress differed from that of everyday costumes. Bhārhut, Sāñchī, Amarāvatī and Gandhāra sculptures abound with hunting scenes. Royal hunters were normally equipped with bows and

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arrows. Primitive hunters carried spears. In Bhārhut panels a royal hunter is represented as cutting the teeth of six-tusked elephant with a saw[9] and he is equipped with novel type of bow and arrows. In Bhārhut we also come across a primitive hunter. He and his two dogs are attacking a wild boar[10] which is finally pierced to death by the hunter with a spear.

In Gandhāra sculptures, the hunters are usually dressed in *dhotī*.[11] The hunters also wore *kañchukas*. In one of the Jātaka scenes, we find a hunter and his companions dressed in *kañchukas* with round necks and variegated dots.[12] Priests engaged in performing magical rites wore red garments.[13] People belonging to different regions dressed in different styles. People living in torrid region, dressed in light and cool garments. Men coming from cold regions used warm and woollen shawls and blankets. Woollen fabrics came mostly from north-western part of the country. Woollen clothes and blankets from north-west find mention in the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. Dress worn on festive occasions were chosen with meticulous care. We find ample references about wedding dress. Different types of wedding dress prevailed in different periods in different parts of the country. In Vedic texts we get vivid descriptions of bride's apparel. From Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra we learn, that sometimes the bride dressed her hair in pendent locks on either side, which were later untied by the bridegroom.[14] Amarāvatī sculptures reveal that brides silken garments (*Vadhūdukūlum*) usually had swan borders.[15]

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The dress history of our country thus betrays a dynamic adaptability to the different conditions of life. This diversity of dress habits naturally presupposes a developed knowledge of the art of weaving. It is difficult to ascertain the exact date for the commencement of the art of weaving in our country. It seems even the Harappan man was well acquainted with the art of weaving. A stone bust of a bearded man, wearing a shawl with trefoil design, has come to light from Mohenjo Daro. The shawl is thrown over the left shoulder and covers the chest, the right shoulder is bare.[16] Whether the shawl was made of wool, cotton or any other fabric, it is difficult to say. But from the numerous spindle whorls, that have been discovered from the Harappan sites, it seems that the art of weaving was fairly popular at that time. In Vedic period the weaving industry made further progress and the chief textile was wool. In Atharva Veda we find the word *tantu* (warp) as opposed to the word *otu* (woof).[17] In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa the 'warp' is called *anuchāda,* the woof *paryāsa,* and *tantavah* being threads.[18] In Taittirīya Saṃhitā the warp is *prāchīna tāna,* the woof is *otu.*[19] All these references point to the fact that woven clothes were in great demand.

In *Pāli* texts we get plenty of references about weaving. The Suttavibhaṅga Pāchittiya mentions *Pesakārasippam* as one of the five low crafts.[20] While the Bhīmasena Jātaka speaks of the weaver's quarters.[21] In Jambudvīpa Pragyapti we come across such words as *tuṇṇāg* (tailor), *tantuvāya* (weaver) and *Paṭṭagāra*

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(weaver of silken garments).[22] References to tailors have also been made in some of the Jātakas.[23]

Different varieties of fabrics

All these imply that both tailored and untailored clothes were popular in society. Different types of fabrics, viz., cotton, silk, linen and *kotumbara,* etc. are frequently mentioned.[24] The cotton was very much in vogue. In the Jātakas we find frequent allusions to cotton fields which were being looked after by village women. Tuṇḍila Jātaka[25] informs us about the cotton fields adjacent to the city of Banaras. Women who looked after these fields were called *kāppāsakhettarakkhikās.*[26] From such and other allusions to cotton cultivation, it seems that cotton fabrics were commonly used by the people. The popularity of cotton, as a dress material remained in force even in subsequent period. Arrian, quoting Nearchus, remarked that the dress worn by Indians was made of cotton. He further stated, that the cotton produced in India was brighter white in colour than the cotton found elsewhere. He jocularly added that the darkness of the Indian complexion made their apparel look so much the whiter.[27] Another type of cloth used frequently was known as *kauśeya*. From Mahāvagga we come to know that Buddhist monks were permitted to wear *prāvāra* or scarfs made of *kauśeya.*[28] Another worth mentioning fabric was *kṣauma,* linen cloth.[29] Pāṇini also mentions this fabric but he uses another term for it. Thus he speaks of *auma* or *aumaka*[30] made from the yarn of flax (*umā*) and hemp (*bhaṅgā*). Besides these, various

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other types of silk fabrics like *paṭṭas, chīnāṁsuk,* etc. were used for making garments.[31]

Certain countries were renowned for producing certain types of clothes. In Buddhist literature we get references about special type of fabrics made in Kāśī. One such variety was known as *Kāśī Kuttama.*[32] It was also known as *Kaśīyāni.*[33] Muslins made in Banaras have also been praised. In the Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta it is stated that muslins from Banaras were fine in texture and had a bluish tint.[34] Embroidered clothes from Banaras were famous for their beauty and intricate designs and these were called *Kāśīsūcivastra.* Woollen fabrics from north-western India had certain distinguishing characteristics. In the Jātakas the *paṅḍukambalas* or blankets of reddish hue have been highly praised.[35] They came from Gandhāra. In Pāṇini we find the word *paṇya kambala* or blankets of standard sizes, produced for market.[36] The country of the Sibis or Sebois was renowned for a special variety of woollen shawls called *Sīveyyaka.*[37] These *Sīveyyaka* shawls were sold at high prices and the price ranged upto one lakh *kārsāpaṇas.* Woollen fabrics from North-Western countries also find mention in the Rāmāyaṇa. We are told that the king of Kaikeya country (modern Shahpur-jhelum) presented a costly white blanket, one embroidered carpet (*Chitrāṅkuthan*) along with other things to his nephew Bharata.[38] In the Mahābhārata[39] it is stated that the Punjab, North-Western Frontier Province and eastern Afganistan were noted for producing woollen clothes. Animal hides came from these parts

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of the country. Different varieties of animal skins, like the hide of lion, tiger, leopard, cow and deer were used for clothes as well as coverlets.[40] The Jātakas refer to animal skins that were used for garments.[41] It is thus clear that not only different types of fabrics were known, but different parts of the country specialised in different varieties of dress materials. Out of these different materials, clothes of diverse types and designs were patterned. Some were meant for laymen, others for Brāhmaṇas and still others for Buddhist monks and nuns.

Garments for Brāhmaṇs and Śramaṇas

The Kassapa Sīhanāda Sutta[42] gives us a list of clothes that should be worn by the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas and these garments differed according to their respective sectarian rules. Following are the clothes that were prescribed for them—(a) coarse hempen cloth. (b) Coarse cloth of interwoven hemp and other materials. (c) Clothes taken from corpses and cast-away rags. (d) Clothing made of rags picked from dust heap. (e) Dress made of barks of *Tirīta* tree. (f) Garment made of a network like a black antelope's hide. (g) Natural hide of a black antelope. (h) Dress made of *Kuśa* grass fibre. (i) Garment of bark. (j) Garment made of small slips or slabs of wood (shingle) pieced together. (k) Blankets made of human hair, (l) and garment made of horsetail. It must be noted, though Sīhanāda Sutta gives us a long list of clothes that should be worn by the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, the three last mentioned items are just mentioned as a matter of routine. They could hardly be worn by any person.

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Dress of Bhikkhus and Bhikkhuṇīs

The Buddha prescribed for his Order a patch work robe of variegated torn pieces. Patterned, embroidered or coloured garments were forbidden to *Bhikkhus*. They could only dye their clothes in yellow colour. Only three pieces of clothes were allowed to *Bhikkhus*. These were *saṁghāṭī* or double waist cloth, *antarvāsaka* or upper garment and *uttarāsaṅga* or mantle.[42] Besides, two spare loin-clothes were also allowed to the *Bhikkhus*. (i) *Kopīna* measuring four spans long and two spans broad could be used when suffering from itches.[44] (ii) *Varṣikasāṭika* or a spare loin-cloth was prescribed for rainy weather. It measured lengthwise six spans and breadthwise two and a half spans from the Buddha's hand.[45] *Bhikkhus* were also permitted to use waist-bands (*kāyabaṅdha*) and these were either ordinary or intricately woven.[46] Belt fasteners made of gold or silver were strictly forbidden to them. They could only use that which were made of bone, conch shells and thread or yarn.[47] The three pieces of clothes which the Buddha prescribed for his Order, were not meant for ordinary monks alone. The Buddha himself donned the *trichīvara* after he renounced the world and accepted the life of a recluse. The early Kushāṇa images of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas are draped in three pieces, a *dhotī*, a girdle and an *uttarāsaṅga* or *uttarīya* covering the left shoulder.[48] For *Bhikkhuṇīs* the same number of clothes were prescribed. But in addition to the above mentioned items, they were also allowed to wear a *kañchuka* (jacket). It was ordained that a *Bhikkhunī* who went to village without wearing

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a *kañchuka,* had to perform *prāyaścitta.*[49] Clothes with borders, specially broad borders, embroidered borders made in the shape of a serpent's hood, were also prohibited to the *Bhikkhus.*[50]

Dress of laymen

Dress of laymen consisted of mainly three pieces, *antarvāsaka* or loin-cloth (dhotī) *uttarāsaṅga* or a mantle and a *uṣnīṣa* or turban. They also wore tunics.[51] There was great fascination for coloured garments. Clothes dyed in indigo, yellow, crimson, magenta, black and turmeric were in vogue.[52] Meticulous care in the choice of colours, was one of the chief characteristics of the age. We are told in the Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta that the people of Vaiśālī were connoisseurs in the art of dressing. The story goes, that when the Blessed one visited Vaiśālī, the people of that country went into a body to meet him, dressed in their best. Those who were of darkish complexion, dressed themselves dark clothes and ornaments. Those who were fair, wore light coloured garments and ornaments. Those who were ruddy in complexion, wore red clothes and ornaments. And those who were pale, dressed themselves in white clothes and ornaments.[53] We can take these statements only at their face value, but there can be no doubt that people possessed a cultivated sense of colour. The same colour consciousness is noticeable in the Jātakas. We learn from a Jātaka story that when Kalakaṇṇī, daughter of Birupāksha went to meet the *seṭṭhi* named Sūciparivāra, she dressed herself in blue clothes, blue jewels and smeared her body with blue paint.[54] In *Pāli* literature we also get references about

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various attractive styles of wearing the loin-cloth. Thus Cullavagga gives us an interesting account of some of these styles.[55] We find plastic evidences of the following :—

(1) *Hastiśauṇḍik*—in which the pleated ends were so arranged that they appeared like trunk of an elephant. In the burly and headless statue of the *Yakṣa,* coming from Patna (now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta), ends of the corded *kamarband* are hanging in front like *hastiśuṇḍa* (Vide Pl. IV).

(2) *Tālvṛntaka*—in this style the ends of the loin-cloth were arranged in the shape of a palm leaf. In the arrangement of the front piece attached to the loin-cloth of the *Yakṣī* (*Chulakokā devatā*), from Bhārhut, and now preserved in the Indian Museum Calcutta, there is a combination of two different modes, viz., *Śatavallik* with many pleats and folds and *Tālavṛntaka.* Both the styles are mentioned in the Cullavagga. The front piece of *Yakṣī* Chulakokā's dress is arranged in many pleats and folds and the upper part spreads like a *Tālavṛntaka* and it gradually narrows down. (Vide Pl. I).

Probably footwear was essential part of the dress. Shoes of different types, colours and materials find frequent mention in Buddhist literature.[56] In early Buddhist sculptures of Bhārhut and Sāñchī, we mostly come across bare footed persons. But in Sāñchī stūpa No. II, there is a sculptured scene, depicting a soldier's duel with a lion and the soldier is dressed in a peculiar

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head-gear and padded boots.[57] A warrior in Bhārhut, with a mighty sword in hand, is also wearing high boots fastened below the knees with tasselled fasteners. (Vide Pl. II.).

Dress of women

There is no mention of any special type of dress for women. But it is stated that they wore fine garments made of cotton, silk and linen. They also wore various ornaments like ornate necklaces, earrings (*kuṇḍala*) of jewels, *Kuśa* flower and plam leaf, bracelets (*keyūra*), anklets (*pālipādakam*) with little tinkling bells, and waist-bands (*mekhalā*).[58] These and other ornaments which were worn by ladies, made a jingling sound like that of the chirp of little birds in rainy season.[59] Besides the fine clothes and jewellery, they used various cosmetics. Some kind of face powder was used to whiten the complexion.[60] Women enhanced their charms by smearing their whole body with cool and fragrant *chandana* paste.[61] Hair was parted in the middle and was dressed in beautiful tresses[62] *añjana* was applied to the eye-lashes to enhance their beauty. Finger tips of their hands and feet were dyed red.*[63] The practice of painting or tattooing the face with various decorative marks was gradually coming in vogue. *Yakṣī* figures of Bhārhut are not only decked with profusion of jewellery but on their cheekbones beautiful tattoo marks or painted designs are also notice-

* The Amarāvatī panels depict an interesting toilet scene, where a *prasādhikā* is engaged in applying *alaktaka* to her mistress's feet.

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able.[64] Perfumes were in great demand. The Jātakas relate the story of a woman who used to grind perfumes in king's palace.[65] Mirrors with ivory handles have also been mentioned.[66]

Indian costumes as described by foreigners

Forcign writers, who visited India during Alexander's campaign, provide us with useful information about the dress and ornaments of the people contemporaneous to their time. According to Nearchus Indians wore an undergarment of cotton which reached below the knees and half way down to the ankles, and an upper garment which they threw partly over their shoulders, and parlty twisted in folds round their head. They wore earrings of ivory, but only a man of means could wear them. Their beards they dyed with one colour or another, according to taste, they also used parasols to screen themselves from heat and wore shoes made of white leather which were elaborately trimmed. The soles of their shoes were variegated and made of great thickness to make the wearer seem so much the taller.[67] Curtius, another foreign writer, observed that the Indians covered their bodies down to the feet with fine muslin, wore sandals and coiled round their heads clothes of linen (cotton). They hanged precious stones as pendants from their ears. Persons of high social rank and well-to-do classes decked their wrists and upper arms with bracelets of gold. They frequently combed, but seldom cut their hair. The beard of their chin they never cut, but they shaved the hair from the rest of their face.[68] Megasthenes stated more or less

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the same thing. According to him Indians, contrary to the general simplicity of their habit, loved finery and ornaments. Their robes were worked in gold and were ornamented with precious stones and they wore flowery garments made of the finest muslins.[69] Both Curtius and Megasthenes thus described the dress and ornaments as worn by the richer class only. Nearchus, on the other hand, referred to the dress habits of common folk.

Kauṭilya on Indian dress

Another contemporary writer, viz., Kauṭilya, provides us with plenty of information about different types of clothes and ornaments that were in vogue during his time. In Arthaśāstra we find mention of quite a large number of fabrics. It seems textile industry made considerable progress during Kauṭilya's time. Certain parts of the country were specially noted for producing certain special varieties of cotton. Thus the cotton fabrics of Madurā, Aparānta (i.e. the country of Koṅkan), western part of Kaliṅga, Kāśī, Vaṅga, Vatsa and of Mahiṣa (i.e. the country of Māhiṣmatī) were considered best.[70] Besides cotton, different varieties of silks were known. The two important varieties were—(a) *kṣauma* and (b) *chīna paṭṭa*. Silken clothes produced in Suvarṇakuḍya was highly praised.[71] Besides, the fabrics made in Vaṅga was known as *Vaṅgaka*. *Dukūla* from the *Vaṇgas* was very soft and white.[72] Fabric manufactured in Puṇḍras, viz., the *Pauṇḍraka*, was black and smooth as the surface of a gem. That which came from the country of Suvarṇakuḍya was as red as the glow of sun with gem-smooth surface,[73] and

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was woven while the threads were very wet. It was either of uniform (*chaturaśravānam*) or mixed texture (*vyāmiśravānam*).[74] Among these, *Pauṇḍraka, Suvarṇakuḍyaka* and *Māgadhīka* (product of Magadha country) were fibrous in texture.[75]

Woollen fabrics of all varieties were produced. Kauṭilya remarked that the blankets made of sheep's wool might be white, purely red, or as red as a lotus. They could be made of worsted threads by knitting (*khacita*), or could be woven of woollen threads of various colours (*vanachitra*). Woollen cloth could also be made of different pieces (*khaṇḍasaṁghātyā*), or it could be woven of uniform woollen threads (*tantuvicchinna*).[76] Of these, that which was slippery (*picchilam*) as a wet surface, fine and soft, was best.[77] Besides blankets, woollen trousers and shawls were commonly used. Kauṭilya mentioned *saṁpuṭikā,* which according to the commentator might be interpreted as *jaṅghātrāṇa* or trouser. The word is also explained as a 'guard for shanks'.[78] Kauṭilya referred to *lambarā* which meant wrapper, mantle or bed-spread, according to the commentator.[79] Kauṭilya stated that both were made of wool of wild animals.[80] Water-proofs were also known. We are told, that the blanket which was made of eight woven strands and was black in colour was called *bhingisī*.[81] It was also known as *apāsaraka* (which kept off rains). It came from Nepal and was called *varṣavāraṇa*.[82]

Although all sorts of fabrics, ranging from cotton, wool to silk, were known yet we hear of different kinds

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of animal skins, which were used for various purposes. *Kāntanāvaka* and *praiyaka* came from *Uttara-parvata* i.e. northern mountain.[83] The colour and lustre of *kāntanāvaka* was like that of a peacock's neck, *praiyaka*[84] was of variegated colour mixed with blue, yellow, and white spots. Both were eight *aṅgulas* in length.[85] Besides, we find mention of host of other skins coming from different places, *bisī and mahābisī* came from *Dvādaśagrāma.*[86] The *bisī* was of an indistinct colour, hairy or variegated with spots. The *mahābisī* was rough and mostly white. Both were 12 *aṅgulas* in length. *Śyāmikā* was brown or variegated with spots. *Kālikā* was brown or dove-coloured. Both were eight *aṅgulas long. Kadalī* was rough and two feet long. When *kadalī* had variegated moonlike spots it was called *chandrottarākadalī. Śākula* was variegated with large circular spots. These and others were some of the varieties of skins.[87] Some varieties, came from the country of *Bāhlava* or modern Balkh, and were known as *sāmūra, chīnasī* and *samūlī. Sātinā, nalatūlī* and *vṛttapucchā* were the skins of aquatic animals (odra).[88] The above discussions make it clear that during Kauṭilya's time clothes of all varieties and grades were manufactured in the country. A superintendent of yarns was specially appointed by the state to look after that industry. He appointed qualified persons to manufacture threads (*sūtra*), clothes (*vastra*) and ropes.[89] Widows, crippled women, girls, women who had left home for good (*pravrajitā*), were compelled to work at weaving houses in default of paying fines for their offences. Wages were fixed according to the quality

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and the quantity of the thread produced.[90] Those who manufactured fibrous clothes, raiments, silks, woollen and cotton fabrics, received special presents like perfumes, garlands and flowers as a mark of encouragement.[91]

People were not only connoisseurs of good clothes but they had fascination for variety of ornaments. Gold and jewelled ornaments of attractive designs were in fashion. A necklace of one thousand and eight strings (of pearls) was called *indracchanda,* while a single string of pearls was called pure *ekāvalī,* the same with a gem in the centre was *yaṣṭi*. When it was variegated with gold and gems it was termed *ratnāvalī*. A string made of pearls with gold wire in between two strings was called *sopānaka.* The same type of necklace with a gem in the centre was known as *maṇisopānaka.*[92] Thus we come across a great variety of patterns in necklaces alone. There are ample references to other ornaments, like head-strings, bracelets[93] anklets, waistbands, etc. The love for finery, jewellery and expensive costumes was the general weakness of both the sexes. Kauṭilya also mentioned a number of fragrant substances such as *agaru, chandana, tailparṇika,* etc. *Agaru* was heavy, smooth with pleasing and wide-spread fragrance. *Chandana* is described as soft, moist and greasy and of pleasant smell. The smell of *tailaparṇika* was lasting, no matter whether it was made into a paste, boiled or burnt.[94] We do not find any mention about special feminine apparel either in Arthaśāstra or in the writings of Greeks. But Kauṭilya as

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well as the Greek writers testify to the fact, that both men and women were dress conscious.

Dress as described in the Mahābhārata

Dress habits often differed according to the taste of persons coming from different places. It is related in the Mahäbhārata that the people of Siṁhala or Ceylon, who came to attend the *Rājasūya Yajña* of the *Pāṇḍavas* were clad in costly garments, heavily embroidered with jewels.[95] The Kirātas, who were a hilly tribe, dressed in animal hides.[96] Turbans were perhaps worn by people in general.[97] On different occasions different dresses were worn. During war people generally wore red garment,[98] probably because of its exciting quality. Generally the colour of the garments one liked to wear featured the individual taste and habit. *Achārya* Śaradvān liked to dress in white clothes. Karṇa wore yellow clothes, while Droṇa dressed in blue garments.[99] The garments worn by kings were known as *prāvāra* and these were very costly.[100] Kings also wore head jewels (*chūḍāmaṇi*), necklace made of niṣkas (kind of gold coins), *kuṇḍalas* etc.[101] Princes also wore golden crowns.

Strangely enough even men grew long hairs and wore pigtails. Duryodhana[102] had long hair and Arjuna wore pigtails.[103] Hilly tribes used to wear long pigtails.[104] From the description of the bodies scattered about in the war-field, we gather that men adorned their hair with ornaments.[105] Some persons liked to have their hair dressed in horn-like shapes but those persons were not considered *Āryas* and they did not get

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admission to the sacrificial ceremonies.[106] Some persons used to grow long side whiskers,[107] and some liked to have long beards.[108]

During marriage ceremonies women dressed themselves either in *kṣauma or kauśeya* fabrics of reddish hue.[109] Some of the common ornaments of this age, were gold necklaces, *kuṇḍalas,* jewels, *niṣkas, kambu* (conch bangles), *keyūra* (armlets), etc.[110] Women used to adorn their foreheads with decorative beauty-spots between their eyebrows, and such beauty-spots were known as *piplu.*[111] Umbrellas and shoes were universally used.[112] Various kinds of cosmetics were known. Before taking bath people used to massage their body with two kinds of oil, *iṅgud* and *eraṇdu.*[113] After taking bath they smeared their body with sandal paste and bedecked themselves with garlands made of various fragrant flowers.[114] Women used collyrium (*añjana*) to add beauty to their eyes.[115] In the Mahābhārata we find special mention of garments that were worn by widows. It is said that they should not wear any ornaments and must clad themselves in white apparels.[116]

Dress as represented by Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī images

Some detached statues of *Yakṣas* and *Yakṣiṇīs* discovered from Parkham, Barodā, Besnagar and Dīdārgañj, belonging to either late Mauryan or early Suṅga periods, throw considerable light on the history of dress and ornaments. These statues adequately supplement the knowledge which we gather from literature.

The Yakṣa image from Parkham—is represented as

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wearing a waist-cloth with elaborate frill hanging in front and held round the loins with a girdle. The girdle is tied in a knot at the pelvis, with two ends of the cords hanging down to the knees. The drapery appears transparent and partly clings to the body. A scarf is tied round its chest with a loop hanging on the protruding belly.[117] The statue is now preserved in the Mathurā Museum.

The costumes of other *Yakṣa* figures, which N.G. Majumdar has assigned to the Mauryan period,[118] are the same as those of the Parkham *Yakṣa* statue. Each figure is dressed in a waist-cloth which is held round the waist by means of a waist band, tied in a bow with long loop hanging down in front. At the back the waist-cloth reaches the ground but it is slightly raised in front. A broad scarf is thrown over the left shoulder and hangs down in a loop in front (Vide Pl. IV). The Baroda *Yakṣa* statue wears a scarf similar to that Parkham statue[119]

The dress of women is well represented by two female statues, one from Dīdārgañj (now in Patnā Museum), and the other from Besnagar. The female figure from Dīdārgañj is dressed in a diaphanous cloth which clings to the waist and thigh, but reaches the ankles and is secured to the waist by means of a beaded girdle. The cloth is gathered in elaborate folds in front in *hastiśauṇḍik* style. From her diaphanous garment her shapely legs are visible. Ankles are decorated with heavy anklets. Upper part of the body is nude and is adorned with a long necklace of three strands of

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pearl like beads. A twisted scarf hangs down from the right arm. The right arm, which is shown in front is covered with bangles right upto elbow. The hair is gathered in a bun at the nape of the neck. The head is wreathed with strings of beads and an oval pendant decorates the forehead. The earrings are enormons in size and are shaped something like double drum or hour glass (Vide Pl. V). Spooner discribes it as the figure of a chowri bearer.[120] The Besnagar female figure wears a *sārī* which comes only upto the knees, one five stringed girdle, and a waist band. The *sārī* is worn with pleats in front.[121]

Dress as reflected in the Śuṅga-Kāṇva Art

The figure of Chandrā *Yakṣi* also supplies us with interesting details regarding the dress and ornaments popular among women. The figure of Chandrā *Yakṣi* is sculptured on the outer side of a left terminus pillar at Bhārhut. She wears a small bunch of flower on her hair. The hair is braided in a single pigtail and is hanging on her right side. She wears a highly decorative girdle with an embroidered waist band. Besides the rich apparel and ornaments, she also wears a conspicuous ornament made of pearls or beads which is worn like a sacred thread round the right side and over the left shoulder.[122] Another female figure from Bhārhut, which throws valuable light on feminine fashion of the day, is that of *Chulakokā devatā.* Her hair is gracefully combed and is covered with a fine woven ornamental head-dress. She wears a waist-cloth with beautiful plaits in front, heavy pendant earrings, several pieces of brace-

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lets, a necklace having six rows of beads, a girdle with six strings, highly entwined anklets and a heavy bangle shaped ornament in each leg[123] (Vide Pl. I).

Male costumes

The costume of male figures, as represented in the Bhārhut sculptures, consists mainly of a loin-cloth or *dhotī*. It is tied round the waist, gathered in front, and is passed between the legs and then tucked behind. The loin-cloth or *dhotī* only reaches below the knees down to the mid leg. The cloth is secured to the waist by means of a waist band or *kamarband,* which is tied in a bow shaped knot with a loop hanging on one side and two free ends on the other side. A decorative piece of cloth, which is attached to the waist band, is made to hang between the legs. Sometimes the front-piece is quite plain but has sufficiently long fringes at both ends. The front piece is made of loose strings with ornamental tassels at both ends and sometimes with simple cords without tassel.[124] The upper part of the body is usually uncovered except for a scarf, which is worn in a variety of ways. (a) The ordinary way is to throw the shawl over both the shoulders and pass both the ends through arm pits and make them hang delicately on the elbows. (b) In another style, one end of the scarf hangs in front and the other thrown back. (c) In some cases both the ends are thrown back. (d) The scarf is also passed round the body and the end is thrown over the left shoulder.[125]

Head-dresses

People did not usually keep long whiskers or

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moustaches. In the Bhārhut reliefs we come across clean shaven men. All men, other than holy personages, used turbans. These turbans were worn in variety of ways. In the simplest fashion, the hair was gathered on the top of the head, with one end of the scarf the top knot was covered, and then the scarf was taken twice, thrice or four times round the head (Fg. 1. a & b.L.d.pl.). In another variety part of the scarf was rolled and kept in a straight line with top knot, then several rounds were wound. The end was passed through the folds, taken over the rolled part and then tucked in other side (Fg. 2. a & b.L.d.pl.). Sometimes the rolled part was arranged in oblique fashion or placed breadthwise (Fg. 3. L.d. pl.). In another variety the turban was worn in such a manner that it appeared like a conchshell (Fg. 4 a & b.L.d. pl.). In next variety the top knot was done in a spiral shape (Fg. 5 L.d. pl.). Sometimes the top knot was shaped like a spinning ball (Fg. 6. L.d. pl.). In other figures the top knot was round but loose and long folds of the turban were passed over the top knot (Fg. 7. L.d. pl.). In another case the knot was fan-shaped (Fg. 8. a & b.L.d. pl.). Foreigners used conical caps. The conical cap is represented in a scene depicting *stūpa* worship by foreigners (Fg. 9.L.d. Pl; Fergusson, 'Tree and serpent worship', 'Pl. XXVIII, Fg. 1). Close-fitting skull cap with knob at the forehead was also in fashion (Fg. 10. L.d.Pl.). Head-dress with a cap cut at the forehead, surmounted with a band, a bow and a knob in the centre (Fg. 11 L.d. Pl.) and then a trapezium-shaped cap with knot at the top was also in vogue (Fg. 12. L.d. Pl.). A cha-

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rioteer at Sāñchī (Fergusson, 'Tree and Serpent Worship,' Pl. XXXIII), is seen with a helmet or cap with plumes (Fg. 13. L.d. Pl.). Some foreigners tied their foreheads with ribbons[126] (Fg. 14. L.d. Pl.). It is thus evident that men did not like to go about in public bareheaded. They wore turbans and other head-dresses in several complicated styles.

The dress of women, as depicted in early Buddhist sculptures, consists of a loin-cloth that reaches below the knees and is fastened to the waist by an elaborate girdle. Another waist band is tied in a bow-shaped knot with a loop hanging either in front or both tasselled ends of the *kamarband* hang from one side. The waist band or *kamarband* is sometimes embroidered.[127] An embroidered piece of cloth with zigzag pattern hangs from the waist band.[128] Sometimes the front piece is made of beads.[129] The female figures in Bhārhut reliefs do not wear any upper garment but their heads are mosly covered with veils.[130] We also find women wearing turbans (Fg. 18. a. & b. L.d. Pl.).[131] Besides turbans, the Bhārhut female figures are depicted as wearing variety of head-dresses worn in different styles. The head-dresses consist either of veils, turbans or caps. Females in Bhārhut sculptures are generally represented as covering their heads with veils having beautiful borders (Fg. 15. a, b & c. L.d. Pl.). The veil is secured to the head by means of a head band (Fg. 16. a, b & c. L.d. Pl.). The top part of the veil is dressed occasionally in a fanshaped pattern (Fg. 17. a & b. L.d. Pl.). Women also wore skull caps, decorated with small pendants (Fg. 19 a & b. L.d. Pl.). In a proces-

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sion scene a women following the king on horseback, wears a helmet (Fg. 20. L.d. Pl; Fergusson, 'Tree and Serpent worship', Pl. XXXIX). According to Motichandra, she might have been a Greek woman, who served as king's bodyguard[132]

The *toraṇas* of Sāñchī provide us with valuable illustrations of dress and ornaments of women. An interesting example of female costume is depicted in the person of a dryad on the Eastern Gateway of the Great *stūpa* at Sāñchī. She is clad in a transparent garment through which her form is clearly visible. Her cloth is tied at the waist and falls below the knees. Her hair is dressed in an elaborate coif on the top of the head and part of it is allowed to fall loose over the shoulders and back.[133] In other examples the hair is braided in a single plait at the back.[134]

Muslin Industry of India

The transparency of the garment of the dryad, suggests that she is probably wearing a garment made of muslin. We learn from the author of Periplus that muslin industry of India was quite famous during his time. The finest quality was produced in Dacca and was known as Gangetic muslin. An ancient test for the fineness and delicacy of the fabric was that, it could be drawn through a finger ring.[135] Argaritic muslins, produced in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly and Tanjore, were also noted for their fineness.[136] So were the muslins produced in Palaesimundu (modern Cylon)[137] or Taprobane (Tāmraparṇī).[138]

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Different modes of female dress

Though the female figures of Bhārhut and Sāñchī reliefs give us some idea about the mode of dress popular among women, yet these modes did not always remain uniform throughout the country. Fashions differed from place to place. We are told that the young women of Avanti loved to have curly hair and the same was the case with the women of Gauḍa. They wore *Śikhāpāśa* and plaited the hair in a single *veṇī*. Ābhīra women wore two *veṇīs* and covered the head with a piece of deep blue cloth. Women of the north-east, on the other hand, dressed themselves in such a way as to cover their body upto the hair. The women of the south imprinted *ullekha* (ulki) with *Kumbhī-padaka*[139] and *Āvarta*[140] on their forehead. Hair-dress, and ornaments thus differed according to individual tastes, geographical and racial characteristics, as well as different conditions in life. Women who were separated from their lovers and were in a miserable state, wore white garments and few ornaments. They could not wear clean clothes. They were even forbidden to clean their bodies. They could arrange their hair only in a single *veṇī*.[141] Different types of women wore different types of costumes. The daughters of sages wore a single *veṇī* and their persons were devoid of much decoration.[142] While *Siddhā* women wore ornaments set with many pearls and emeralds and their garments were of yellow colour.[143] Dancing girls adorned their foreheads with tattoo marks and they wore turbans like men.[144] In the illustrated panels of Bhārhut we find a vivid representation of a dancer with decorative

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tattoos on her cheek and forehead, depicted with exhaustive clearness.

Dress of soldiers and harem guards

Dress habits of men differed according to their status in life. Thus a king's dress differed from that of a commoner while a commoner's from that of a soldier or that of a priest. Normally kings wore many coloured garments but when they were engaged in the performance of religious rites, they dressed only in white clothes.[145] Persons engaged in the task of guarding harems were furnished with armour and wore dark red clothes.[146] The soldiers were equipped with bright armour and their costumes differed according to their ranks and legions. Thus the archers wore full-sleeved tunic. The sleeves were rolled to the elbow. The kilt was tied to the waist by means of *kamarband* and they used cross straps to carry their quiver. As head-dress they wore turbans.[147] More or less the same type of dress was used by the foot-soldiers, except the cross-strap. Sometimes they were dressed in short drawers held round the waist with a string, from which hung a decorative piece of cloth.[148] They also wore tunics.

A soldier (on the railing pillar of the *Stūpa* II at Sāñchī), who is represented as duelling with a lion, wears a half-sleeved tunic reaching the knees and fastened round the waist with a waist band. He also wears a head-dress resembling a hemispherical cap with a knot at the top and full boots.[149] Soldiers are sometimes represented as wearing striped tunics reaching the knees with quarter-sleeves and V-shaped opening in front.[150]

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The tunics with round collars open front, and buttons were also in vogue.[151]

Dress of ascetics

The clothes worn by ascetics differed according to the different sects to which they belonged. Thus the costumes worn by wandering ascetics (*Parivrājaka*), great sages, and other ascetics were made of dark red cloth[152] (*kāṣāya*), while the *Pāśupatas* wore variegated dress. Some ascetics also wore bark of trees and animal skins.[153] We are further told, that the heads of the Buddhist monks, who were experts in Vedic Studies (*Śrotriya*), the Jain monks (*Nirganthas*), wandering ascetics and those who were consecrated to a ceremony should be shaven clean.[154] The ascetics as represented in the Bhārhut sculptures, other than *Pratyeka* Buddha, have matted hair on their head and they are dressed in loin-cloth. Only in one place we find a *Ṛṣi* having long beard and moustache. In the remaining instances the faces of men appear to be clean shaven.[155] The same mode of hermit's dress is also noticeable in another bas-relief. Half of this relief is broken and is missing. But in the portion which now exists, we find figures of three hermits flying through the air. Cunningham identifies these figures with ascetics of the *Jaṭila* sect.[156] All of them have matted hair, either coiled or knotted on the top of the head. They are clad in the garments of bark or similar stuff just covering their loins and thighs. The upper garments are worn like badges which transversely pass round the left shoulders and right sides of chests below

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the arm pits. They carry alms-bowl or *Kamaṇḍalus* in their left hands.[157]

Costumes of foreigners

Mode of male dress depended on a number of other factors, these were—(i) regional characteristics, (ii) sectarian rules, (iii) rank of the person concerned, (iv) individual taste and preference. Besides, racial characteristics played vital role in the matter. Costumes of different tribes differed according to their racial characteristics. Persons (obviously of foreign origin), represented as worshipping a *stūpa* in Bhārhut reliefs, wear full-sleeved tunic, a kilt, a *kamarband,* a scarf flowing at the back and tied in a knot at the neck and full boots. As head-dress some wear fillet round the forehead tied at the back. Two of them have conical caps over their head and the others are bareheaded.[158] Indo-Greek kings (as depicted on their coins), wore crested helmet,[159] which was probably their characteristic royal head-dress. They preferred full-boots.[160] Scythians were characterised by their conical caps, while the Kushāṇa kings wore crested helmets, diadems and long heavy coats.[161] In one of his coins Kanishka is wearing a peaked helmet, long heavy coat and trousers.[162] In another coin, Huvishka is wearing a peaked helmet, coat of mail and a cloak.[163] Royal and ceremonial costumes of foreigners consisted of crested or peaked helmets, full-sleeved tunics or heavy coats, trousers and heavy padded boots.

Foreign influence on Indian dress

The worth noting feature of Indian dress history

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from the Suṅga period onwards, is the impact of foreign dress on Indian costumes. Thus the drapery of a male figure from Bhārhut, which has been identified by Barua as the representation of sun god *Mihira* of *Uttarpatha*,[164] shows marked foreign influence. (Vide Pl. II). He is dressed in high-heeled boots, full sleeved coat and *dhotī*. The scarf is tied at the neck by means of a single string fastener, while at the waist it is tied by a double string fastener. He also wears a girdle (*avyaṅga*) round his waist, a big sword is hanging from his side and he holds bunch of grapes in the right hand.[165] The dress is called *undīcyaveśa* or Northerner's dress. J. N. Banerjea is of opinion that *avyaṅga* is the Indianized form of Aiwiyaonghen, the sacred waist-girdle of the Iranians.[166] Another royal figure, identified by Barua as king Dhanabhūti, is represented as worshipping a Bodhi-tree in one of the bas-reliefs of Bhārhut. Behind him there is another man, probably an attendant, dressed in a full-sleeved jacket with rounded ends. The collar, sleeves, cuffs, and the open ends of the jacket are trimmed with ribbons. He also wears a loin-cloth or *dhotī* and a turban.[167] Another male figure (squatting with knees drawn up) from Bhitā, is wearing an open coat with sleeves. The coat has a loop and a knot to fasten it across the chest.[168] A standing statue of the Buddha from Sāñchī, of which only the feet and pedestal now remains, is decorated with the figures of donors. The donors are represented on the pedestal and all of them, men, women and children are dressed in boots, breeches, belts, cassocks and jackets.[169]

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Figures of soldiers, charioteers, bodyguards, all clad in tunics or sleeved jackets are found in the Sāñchī sculptures. The costumes of the above figures show indebtedness to foreign dress habits. Not only in sculptures but in a large number of Kanishka's coins the impact of foreign dress on Indian costume is noticeable. Some coins of Kanishka bear the figure of the Buddha, either in standing or sitting posture in purely Indian style, but the costume consists of pointed cap, tunic or coat, trouser and high heavy boots[170] of central Asian[171] origin. It is thus clear that the coming of the foreign hordes like Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas not only resulted in racial and cultural intermixturcs, but it also led to free adaptations of dress styles. Thus Indian costume which previously consisted of traditional three pieces, like *dhotī* (loin-cloth), scarf and *uṣnīṣa* (turban), now came to include such foreign items of dress as trousers, close fitting cassocks, half coats, high heavy boots so on and so forth.

Dress as represented in Gandhāra sculptures

In Gandhāra and Mathurā sculptures we find a strange admixture of Indian and foreign styles. In Gandhāra art royal figures are draped in *dhotīs* (loin-cloth) reaching the ankles and arranged in schematic folds, and two shawls. The first one is tied at the back with the help of another heavy shawl so that the schematic folds may remain intact.[172] Besides *dhotī* and shawls, they wear sandals and *kamarband* or waist bands made of intertwined cords. Persons belonging to the higher strata of society, usually wore sandals made

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either of leather or wood. One standing image of *Boddhisattva* Maitreya, from Sahrī Bahlol, is draped in a *dhotī* marked with serpentine folds and a shawl. His footwear looks like leather sandals. Similar sandals are worn by a number of other figures.[173] Head-dresses consist of strings of pearls as well as turbans. The turbans are worn like hats.[174] In a scene depicting the Great Renunciation of the Buddha from Gandhāra, the charioteer *Chandak,* is holding the turban of the Buddha. The turban appears to be made of starched cloth, the sash is wound round a cap so that the turban may not get ruffled, while one end of the sash is arranged in the shape of a fan.[175] The cap round which the sash is wound is often decorated with elaborate patterns and motifs. Occasionally the Buddha motif is embroidered or imprinted on caps.[176] Sometimes the upper end of the sash is arranged like the outstretched tail of a peacock.[177]

The figures of donors, householders and *seṭṭhis* or businessmen in Gandhāra sculptures, are mostly clad in *dhotīs* and shawls.[178] Sometimes these figures are dressed in tunics with opening either at the right or left side.[179] Close fitting long coats or cassocks with full-sleeves are also found.[180] Close fitting caps and loose trousers were popular and they were probably introduced by Central Asian immigrants.[181] The dress and decorations thus reveal a free commingling of Indian and foreign styles.

Female costumes

Gandhāra female figures are generally dressed in

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three pieces, full-sleeved tunic, *sārī* covering the whole body and a shawl partly wrapped round hands and partly covering the shoulders.[182] Half-coats with open front were also in fashion. A *Yakṣi* figure standing gracefully under a *Śāla* tree (from upper monastery at Nathu, now in Calcutta Museum), is wearing a full-sleeved coat or *kañchuka* partly buttoned and partly loose. Her head-dress consists of a round skull cap with a knob at the top. Over her forehead sophisticated fringes and a large circular pendant are noticeable. She is also wearing a waist-cloth held round the loin with strings of beads with a big ornamental clasp in the centre. The scarf is draped over right shoulder.[183] The *kañchukas* or tunics were worn either as outer garments or were worn inside, over which the *sārīs* were wrapped.[184] The *kañchukas* were long and close-fitting and *saris* were draped with creases.[185] Figures of female guards (who served as king's body-guards according to Megasthenes),[186] are also depicted in Gandhāra art. These women are sometimes draped in purely Indian costumes but are armed with spears and shields.[187] Sometimes they are dressed in Greek apparel. The drapery consists of tunic reaching a little above the knees and a pleated skirt tied to the waist by means of a belt or waist band. The back is covered with a shawl which is held to the shoulders by means of two rings attached to the tunic. They also wear caps.[188]

Costume of soldiers

The costumes of soldiers fall into two categories. The first group of soldiers are dressed in purely Indian style in *dhotī*, shawl, waist band made of cords and a

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belt.[189] They either wear turbans or leave their head uncovered. The other group of soldiers wear half-sleeved iron jackets reaching the knees, *dhotīs* or loin-cloths and turbans.[190]

Costumes as depicted in Mathurā sculptures

Mathurā sculptures, of early Kushāṇa period, throw ample light on the dress habits of the time. Male figures are usually dressed in *dhotīs* with one end tucked behind and the other end wound round the waist.[191] The shawl is an essential part of the dress. It is thrown over both the shoulders, or covers the left shoulder and is taken round the body and the left hand.[192] Sometimes a waist band, looking like intertwined cords, is worn.[193] Turbans are still in fashion. The turban made of long narrow bands seems to have been in vogue.[194] The sash is wound round a metal cap.[195] Portrait sculptures of Kushāṇa sovereigns are dressed either in stiff military mantles or short tunics and heavy felt boots. A headless statue of Kanishka from Mathurā is clad in a stiff mantle which reaches below the knees. Inside the cloak there is an inner garment which looks somewhat like a gown or ancient Roman toga. The inner gown is tied round the waist by a decorative band. The drapery is indicated by separate volumes and folds are rendered by crudely incised lines. Foot-wear consists of heavy padded boots. There is a mighty sword in his hand[196] with a finely carved *makara* head on its hilt.

Feminine attire consists of thin transparent drapery reaching the ankles and tied to the waist by means

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of a heavy girdle.[197] The girdles of various patterns,[198] with highly decorative big clasps in the centre were in vogue. Some beautiful and voluptuous female forms are carved on the railing pillars of Bhūteśvara. We come across *Yakṣīṇīs, vṛkshakās* or *apsarās* standing in various graceful poses. They are not only remarkable for their charming and graceful contours but they throw interesting light on the femine fashion of the day. The upper part of the body is usually uncovered. Some figures are clad in short *kañchukas* and skirts.[199] Mathurā reliefs abound with *Krīḍā-vihāra* scenes or scenes based on female pastimes. Here we find such interesting toilet scenes like *Veṇī-prasādhana*. Women arranging or dressing their long and lovely tresses, or adjusting ear ornaments are portrayed with loving care by Mathurā sculptors. Women usually braided their hair in a single *veṇī*. In Gandhāra art also, female figures with single long *veṇīs* are frequently noticeable.[200]

Costumes, as represented in the sculptures of Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa, do not show any material change. *Dhotīs,* scarfs, turbans, *kañcukas* and *sārīs* are still in vogue. The only difference is that, in the Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa reliefs *kañcukas* are worn by musicians, dancers, etc. Persons belonging to well-to-do classes are seldom clad in *kañcukas.*

The dress history of India thus shows a gradual process of evolution. We find mention of various fabrics, and different regions specialized in different

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types of dress materials. Clothes were worn in various attractive manners and mostly untailored garments were in vogue. This mode of dress persisted down to the Mauryan period. Individual tastes, preferences and racial and regional characteristics wavered from time to time. In post-Mauryan period, however, we find a radical change in Indian dress. Long loose trousers, close-fitting caps, cassocks and half-coats along with heavy padded boots (all evidently of foreign origin), became highly popular. Gradually there was an amalgamation of Indian and foreign styles, and statues belonging to this period of transition are clad in costumes which are half foreign and half Indian in style.

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APPENDIX

Social Background of Ancient Indian Art

The social and secular aspects of ancient Indian art attracted very little attention of critics till this day. Indian art has commonly been interpreted as an expression of Indian view of life and this view of life is associated, by most critics, with our religious and philosophical aspects of life. Stella Kramrisch is of the view, that the ultimate aim of Indian life is Release or *mokṣa* and art is a means of attaining this aim.[1] Rowland holds the same opinion. He says, "Indian art is life, as interpreted by religion and philosophy."[2] Similar opinions have been expressed by host of other scholars. Though most scholars and critics have emphasized the religious and mystic aspects of ancient Indian art, yet in reality it is not so much a document of Indian religion and philosophy as is commonly believed.

It is true that religion played a vital role in determining the nature and content of ancient Indian art. But this religious propensity of art was not a peculiar feature of India alone. Ancient art activities not only in India, but in other parts of the orient hinged mostly round temple activities. Besides, ancient oriental art in India and elsewhere received first public recognition as a motivated art commissioned by kings and priests. Hauser, while writing about the social history of ancient

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Egyptian art, has remarked that the priests were the first regular employers of artists and first to give them commissions.[3] What Hauser writes about one civilization applies almost to all ancient civilizations of the world. Activities of ancient artists were thus, mainly regulated by priestly instructions and their dictates were faithfully followed by palace dignitaries.

Under such circumstances true art, inspired by purely aesthetic considerations, could hardly thrive. Even the social status of artists was none too happy. In some countries, the sculptors and painters were targets of open contempt.[4] Likewise in ancient India, the social status of artists was neither high nor honourable. The early view of art in India, particularly the Buddhist view, was distinctly derogatory. The Buddha has himself preached against art and beauty in no unmistakable terms. Buddhist missionaries of the early *Hīnayāna* school openly treated art as a form of physical luxury. This attitude towards art persisted for a considerable length of time. It is only at a much later period that we meet the priest-artist in India.

Rupakāras and *citrakāras* in India held no better status in life than the other skilled professionalists. Many of them were known by the common designation *'śilpins'* and the ancient Indian conception of *'śilpa'* differed from its usual interpretation. In the list ancient *'śilpas'* we find mention of various handicrafts. Thus a potter was as much a *'śilpī'* as a worker in ivory. In Buddhist scriptures *śilpas* or *'sippas'* connote crafts and in the category of such crafts some lowly trades and

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professions[5] are also included. Pāṇini defines the word *śilpa* in a general way, denoting dance, music[6] as well as crafts.[7] Kauṭilya in his discourse on the salaries of state servants, refers to foot-soldiers trained in (fighting) arts, as *śilpavantaḥ pādātāḥ*.[8] Again in another context he ordains that infantry, cavalry, and elephants should practise their respective arts outside the city and it is the duty of the king to supervise such practices frequently.[9] Thus Kauṭilya, even treats proficiency in military science as a *śilpa*. Kauṭilya places artists and artisans in the same category and enjoins that they should lodge persons of their professions in their own place of work.[10] Manu treats artisans as untouchables, whose food should not be taken by *Snātakas*.[11]

Artists and craftsmen, though they had identical status in life, belonged to separate vocational groups or guilds. We find mention of several such guilds in ancient texts. Members of each guild lived and worked in their allotted spheres. Some of them took enthusiastic part in the art activity of the country. Thus we hear of ivory workers of Bhilsa, who along with other craftsmen contributed to the decoration of Sāñchī *toraṇas*. These artists and artisans did not have any individual status or identity. They were known only collectively and could be identified by their hereditary vocational designations.

Gradually, however, there came a great change in the social behaviour of the land. Racial amalgamations and cultural adjustments opened up new vistas of social emancipation. Rigid laws guiding and restricting

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human relationships were relaxed and there was broadening of outlook in every walk of life. Under the influence of this emancipated social atmosphere, the attitude towards art also underwent a radical change. Artists and artisans now received full and active patronage of temporal as well as sacerdotal authorities. Sphere of their activities broadened. We get both epigraphic and literary references about *rāja śilpins* who enjoyed the patronage of kings. Some of them made substantial contributions in enhancing the art prestige of the country. Thus there is an inscription on the top architrave of South Gate of the stūpa No. I, at Sāñchī, stating that it was the gift of *Ānanda,* the foreman of the artisans (*āveśin*) of king Śātakarṇi I, of Deccan.[12]

Though early Indian artists received very little attention in the beginning, art in India had an early origin. In ancient literature, both Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical, we find frequent references about beautiful palaces and painted halls adorned with human figures and decorative patterns. And much earlier, the artists of Harappā and Mohenjo Daro, displayed their skill in producing highly naturalistic figures of men, women and animals. The art activity of the country suffered a temporary set back in subsequent period. The art products of pre-Mauryan date, though they find much mention in ancient texts, actually consist of few variegated relics and secondary art objects. The real history of Indian art commences from Mauryan period and the available remains of the great and monumental art in India are all datable from Aśoka's time. It appears that Indian art entered a new phase in the service of Man

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right from the time of the great Mauryan Emperor. And Aśoka in his zeal for Dhamma, employed art as a suitable medium for transmitting the holy messages in India and abroad.

The *modus operandi* of Aśoka was later adopted by Buddhist preachers and patrons. Sculptors and painters were given regular commissions to edify the miraculous episodes of the Buddha's life through narrative and symbolic reliefs. These sculptors and craftsmen, who were entrusted with the sacred task of decorating the Buddhist sanctuaries, were not doctrinized members of the Buddhist brotherhood. They were ordinary laymen who worked and moved in a free and uninhibited world with their full and vital interest in life. The early plastic art of India is thus, as much religious as social and secular in its contents. It reflects not only the full and vigorous life of the time but it also mirrors a phase of life that is rooted in two co-existent opposite traditions, (i) the tradition of village and folk life with its simple *joie de vivre* and animistic faith hovering round tutelary deities, *Yakṣas, Yakṣīs, nāgas, devatās, vṛikṣakās* etc. (ii) The tradition evolved out of a steady growth of an urban consciousness with its vital search for a higher religion.

Purely secular art seems to have been tabooed in India. But the physical consciousness of life around, could hardly be ignored by the artists. Thus in the early Buddhist art of Bhārhut, Sāñchī, Amarāvatī and other places, along with the edifying themes of the Buddha legends, we meet with delightful scenes of common

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happenings of everyday life. These simple tales of rural and country life are portrayed with ingenuous charm. Even the Jātaka scenes, which are primarily meant for didactic messages, are resonant with simple folk tales of popular interest. The relief panels of early Buddhist monuments thus provide us with a well documented panorama of life. Here we find authentic historical scenes dealing with Prasenajit's and Ajātśatru's visit to the Buddha, Śuddhodana's visit to his enlightened son or Aśoka's pilgrimage to *Bodhivṛikṣa prakāra* at Bodhgayā and stūpa at Rāmagrāma. The sculptured panels of Sāñchī *toraṇas* are specially rich in historical scenes. Scenes reflecting life and labour of common man as well as luxury and munificence of kings and magnates are found in abundance along with the quaint scenes of domestic life. On the East *toraṇa* of Sāñchī stūpa I, we find a homely family scene. On the frontal side of one of the projecting ends of the third architrave there is a pair of peacocks facing each other. In the background of the same panel we come across a happy family scene, depicting a turbaned man relaxing with his ladylove. The woman has a fly whisk in her left hand and to complete the scene there is the family dog near his master.

The sculptors frequently dwell on popular sports and pastimes of kings and commoners. Quail fights,[13] acrobatic feates (Vide Pl. VIII),[14] dice playing,[15] wrestling[16] and hunting scenes abound in the early reliefs, along with scenes of ordinary mirth and frolic. In Mathurā art particularly, we find enchanting scenes of secular life. We meet the coy lady adjusting her ear-

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rings with the help of a hand mirror, dressing her beautiful tresses, playing on the flute or playing with a parrot.[17] Similar and other portrayal of women in various alluring poses and playful moods, and scenes pertaining to dance, music and other pastimes, add to the charm and variety of Mathurā art. The social and secular scenes of Mathurā art, though rich in their variety and sculptural beauty, verge on earthiness, representing almost voluptuous enjoyment of life. But the social and secular life as reflected in Suṅga-Kāṇva art proclaims a joyous and buoyant attitude towards life. Thus in the relief panels of Bhārhut and Sāñchī we find delightfully impish scenes of mirth and humour e.g., the capture of an elephant by a troop of monkeys and the like. These scenes of unalloyed merriment occur simultaneously with lofty themes dealing with the Pilgrim's Progress of the emancipated Soul.

The social background of Indian art is thus interwoven with secular and non-secular themes. The non-secular subjects do not always high light the grand themes of religious or spiritual enlightenment. They represent mixed trends and traditions. The earliest tradition can be traced back to primeval belief in magic and myth centering round fecundity cults and guardian spirits of village and country life. This primeval concern for fecundity aspects later takes symbolic shapes in Indian art in the rounded and fully developed forms of *Yakṣis,* tree nymphs and erotic postures of mortal beauties. The rigid frontality and portliness of early *Yakṣa* statues also reveal an earthiness that is rooted in archaic tradition. This earth bound attitude towards

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life does not change much in subsequent date. The traditional beliefs in fertility spirits, village godlings, together with resonances of deep forests, their lurking mystery and myth penetrate in the depth of popular mind. Nature and the supernatural are not viewed as two separate entities, they are treated as parts of the same integral scheme.

Such dim awareness, apprehension and wistfulness, later find perennial appeal in Indian art through aesthetic rendering of myth and mystery connected with life and nature. Sometimes these myths take the form of magic wish-fulfilling tree (*Kalpa vṛiksha* and *Kalpa latā*) with its bounteous offer of desirable objects, or the meandering lotus stalks, binding human beings birds, animals, fruits, flowers and other things in a rhythmic wave of life. Magical beliefs and mythic propensity, also find shape in fish-tailed elephants, winged animals, pot-bellied *Kumbhāṇḍas,* with lotus creepers of life and fortune coming out of their mouths, tree-dryads etc. These and other fancied forms create a bizarre atmosphere which is alien to down to earth existence. Aesthetic flights like these, are again blended with superb realistic touches and naturalistic representations. Thus along with the depiction of popular myths and fantasy, the sculptors excel in faithful delineations of hanging roots of pipal tree and the little veins of its leaves. Treatment of some animal figures also reveal an intuitive knowledge of the animal world. Indian art thus, reflects the conflicting trends arising out of varied experiences of life. Some experiences recall the naive thoughts of rural and sub-urban life, while others, the

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hectic attitude of urban life. These, along with the impact of a religion that accepted old animistic beliefs, found lasting expression in Indian art.

The indigenous themes and socio-popular subjects which add much charm to Indian sculptures, also find expression in terracotta art. Terracotta as a medium of art expression gained high popularity in India at a very early period. Figurines of burnt clay have been found in abundance in different parts of the country. Early terracottas are mostly ritualistic in nature. They represent either cult of the Great Mother or the cult of the Sacred Bull. Gradually the ritualistic fervour takes an aesthetic turn and terracotta of varied forms and types are made. The main charm of ancient Indian terracottas lies in their stylistic and thematic variety. They range from simple archaic looking, hand modelled human and animal effigies to highly sophisticated figures and moulded plaques. Moulded plaques mostly deal with a wide variety of themes. The themes generally reflect poignant scenes of folk and country life and dwell on popular fables and folk lores of general interest.

The history of Indian terracottas enters a new interesting phase from Mauryan period. Political stability of the country coupled with foreign contacts, brought about an urbanization of outlook in different spheres of life. Archaic type of terracottas of earlier period are replaced by new type of figures, which are not only bigger in sizes but are characterized by smooth and delicate modelling. Secular subjects now receive increasing

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attention of folk artists. Thus we find cute and fully rounded figures of dancing girls with up-lifted whirling skirts,[18] skilfully modelled heads of kids with innocent and joyous expressions,[19] as well as ethnic types, indicating clear foreign characteristics. All these point towards an improved vision in terracotta art.

From Suṅga period onwards, moulded terracotta plaques come in high fashion along with figurines. The moulded plaques are specially rich in social and secular themes. The steady foreign infiltration and its consequent impact on Indian society, brings further bloom in the thematic variety of ancient Indian terracottas. Bacchanalian and amorous scenes became quite popular. In a terracotta plaque from Kosām we come across a kidnapping scene (Vide Pl. IX). Here we meet a short stout man with a frowning and ugly looking face, forcibly carrying away a pretty maid. The helpless struggle of a slender girl in the iron clasp of the brute, has been realistically portrayed by the artist.[20] In sharp contrast to this grim theme, we find gay scenes of merry-making, joy rides in bullock carts and picnic parties[21] (Vide Pl. X). These, along with the homely subjects, like a youngster practising his alphabets on a board, agile hunter with a tall head-gear, running after a doe (Vide Pl. XI),[22] coy maiden playing with a bird etc. are delineated with loving care and insight by the artists.

We also come across delineations of popular legends of court intrigues and palace romances. Thus in a terracotta plaque, which has been identified by Rai Kri-

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shnadasa as "Vāsavadattā-Udayana terracotta plaque from Kausāmbī",[23] we meet the royal lovers escaping on an elephant back. The story of Udayana, the wizard king of Vatsa, and his love episodes with the rival king Pradyot's beautiful daughter Vāsavadattā, fired the imagination of not only the litterateurs from time to time, but also that of sculptors and clay modellers. Thus in terracotta plaques as well as relief panels of Orissan caves, we find interesting reproductions of the story of Udayana and Vāsavadattā's flight.

The social content of ancient Indian terracottas thus projects the varied aspects of secular life. The secular subjects comprise both plaques and figurines. In them we find the doting mother caressing her child, loving dampatis, the young cavalier galloping on his horse, alluring beauties busy in enhancing their charms. These and other scenes of daily life along with frenzied representation of wild life like the tooth and nail fight between a lion and an elephaht, are reproduced with the consumate skill of a veteran observer of life.

The history of Indian art is thus, the history of Indian life and its variegated aspects and experiences.

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19. Heads of two children, one boy and one girl from Pataliputra, datable to Mauryan period.

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21. Picnic in bullock cart (Allahabad Museum).

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17	27	become	became
18	11	person	a person
18	21	Brāhmaṇs	Brāhmaṇas
22	15	driking	drinking
22	16	Jātakas	Jātaka
26	3	pratioma	pratiloma
28	4	svavrṇa	svavarṇa
30	10	bock	back
30	17	Hārita	Hārīta
31	14	Avantī	Avanti
31	18	Punastoma	Punaṣṭoma
31	28	Indian	India
34	15	in an ancient	in ancient
36	3	Nisāḍas	Niṣāḍas
37	5	touchables	touchable
38	16	Yavānaḥ	Yavanaḥ
40	7	kaumudi	kaumudī
40	13	Ray Chaudhury	Raychaudhuri
43	2	kshaharata	kshaharāta
43	18	Śri	Śrī
46	19	dīgvijaya	digvijaya
47	10	102–180 A.D.	102 (=180 A.D.)
49	1	Brāhmi	Brāhmī

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Page	Line	For	Read
50	20	(Nataka)	(Naṭaka)
50	20	Natas	Naṭas
51	26	Dipavaṁśa	Dīpavaṁśa
53	20	Nīṣāda	Niṣāda
55	15 fn.	Chand,	Chanda,
56	Folio No.	36	56
56	44 fn.	A.V., IV.20.4.	A.V., IV.20.4; see also "Śūdras in Anct. India," p. 31, R. S. Sharma
56	49 fn.	p. 10	p. 10; see also "Śūdras in Anct. India", p. 32, R. S. Sharma
57	53 fn.	Mahābhāṣya, VI.3.109	Mahābhāṣya, VI.3. 109; I.H.Q., Dec., 1949, p. 270, "The Tribal Immigrations in Achaemenid India", S. Chattopadhyaya
58	87 fn.	'Castes in India'	'Caste in India'
58	93 fn.	matter	mother
60	121 fn.	Egyptains	Egyptians
60	128 fn., 129 fn., 135 fn.	Ray Chaudhury	Raychaudhuri
68	6	Brahmacārīn	Brahmacārin
70	29	Śri	Śrī
71	8, 12	Śri	Śrī
72	11	Vāsiṭhiputra	Vāsithīputra
72	13	donar	donor

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Page	Lin.	For	Read
72	14	Ujenika-Manāra-baliā	Ujenikā-māhara-balikā
73	15	Joily	Jolly
74	24	inronically	ironically
75	5	Vāsiṭhiputra	Vāsiṭhīputra
75	17	(Śāntiśri)	(Śāntiśrī)
80	27	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇas
81	5	Vaisihṭha	Vasishṭha
81	17	Visishṭha	Vasishṭha
82	7, 25	Ārsa	Ārsha
82	23	sactions	sanctions
82	27	He	He,
85	8	mannner	manner
88	18	as it	as it is
93	24	disceased	diseased
94	14	bound o	bound to
94	25	ther	there
95	24	Visishṭha	Vasishṭha
100	5	Savarṇ	Savarṇa
100	26	caste-oft	cast off
101	23	kānīn	kānīna
102	3	kānīn	kānīna
102	27	girls	girl
103	12	kānīn	kānīna
110	1	its	it
110	20	brigegroom	bridegroom
116	85 fn.	Vaish.,	Vasish.,
122	225 fn.	Aśv., 90-53	Aśv., 90, 53.
126	21	Mahābhārat	Mahābhārata
134	10	yr. 24—A.D. 130.	yr. 24=A.D. 130
134	26	Nāsika	Nāsik

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Page	Line	For	Read
135	26	Mahābhārat	Mahābhārata
137	14	Strīrajya	Strīrājya
137	20	Aitereya	Aitareya
139	20	dampati	dampatī
140	17	Harivaṁsa	Harivaṁśa
148	10	daugther	daughter
152	14	ner	her
160	28	Visishṭha	Vasishṭha
161	26	Sati	Satī
162	20	Tharacians,	Thracians,
163	23	Dhruva	Dhruvā
165	2	Strīrajya	Strīrājya
169	63 fn.	Watter,	Watters,
169	65 fn.	Rajtara.,	Rājatara.,
185	15	Kahapaṇas	Kahāpaṇas
186	25	enslavement	enslavements
196	30	pearls	pearls,
199	23	terroism	terrorism
202	10	the slaves	the slave
203	26	previleges	privileges
212	91 fn.	Vol. I, 276.	Vol. I, p. 276.
215	168 fn.	Vol. II, p. b20	Vol. II, p. 420.
243	12	(Nirganthas),	(Nirgranthas),
245	12	undīcyaveśa	udīcyaveśa
246	17	uṣnīṣa	uṣṇīṣa
248	4	Yakṣi	Yakṣī
250	5	Yakṣīṇis	Yakṣiṇīs
250	8	femine	feminine
252	15 fn.	the Government	the Madras Government

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Page	Line	For	Read
254	70 fn., 73 fn., 81 fn., 82 fn.	Kaut.,	Kauṭ.,
254	74 fn.	Arthasāstra	Arthaśāstra
256	122 fn.	Bhāruht	Bhārhut
257	140 fn.	Āvarta	Āvarta
259	179 fn.	Boudhique	Bouddhique
266	28	Yakṣis	Yakṣīs
269	14	kosām	kośām
270	2	kausāmbī	kauśāmbī
270	15	dampatis	dampatīs
270	19	elephaht	elephant
273	6	Sutta Vibhaṇga	Sutta Vibhaṅga
274	4	Brahma-jala-sutta	Brahma-jāla sutta
274	15	F. T. Woodward	F. L. Woodward
274	16	'Books of	'Book of
274	19	1885-90	1885-1900
276	6	Aitereya	Aitareya
278	17	Visṇu	Viṣṇu
280	24	Pt. II	Pl. II
282	8-9	Inscription Gautamī	Inscription of Gautamī
282	25-26	evidence on	evidence to
284	24	Bouddihique	Bouddhique

Note— (1) The list of errata covers from pp. 1 to 288.
(2) Undermentioned words should be read as follows:—

(a) Anirvasita—Aniravasita
(b) Abhisasta (s) —Abhiśasta (s)
(c) Yāgñavalkya, Yagñ.—Yājñavalkya
(d) Virātparva—Virāṭparva

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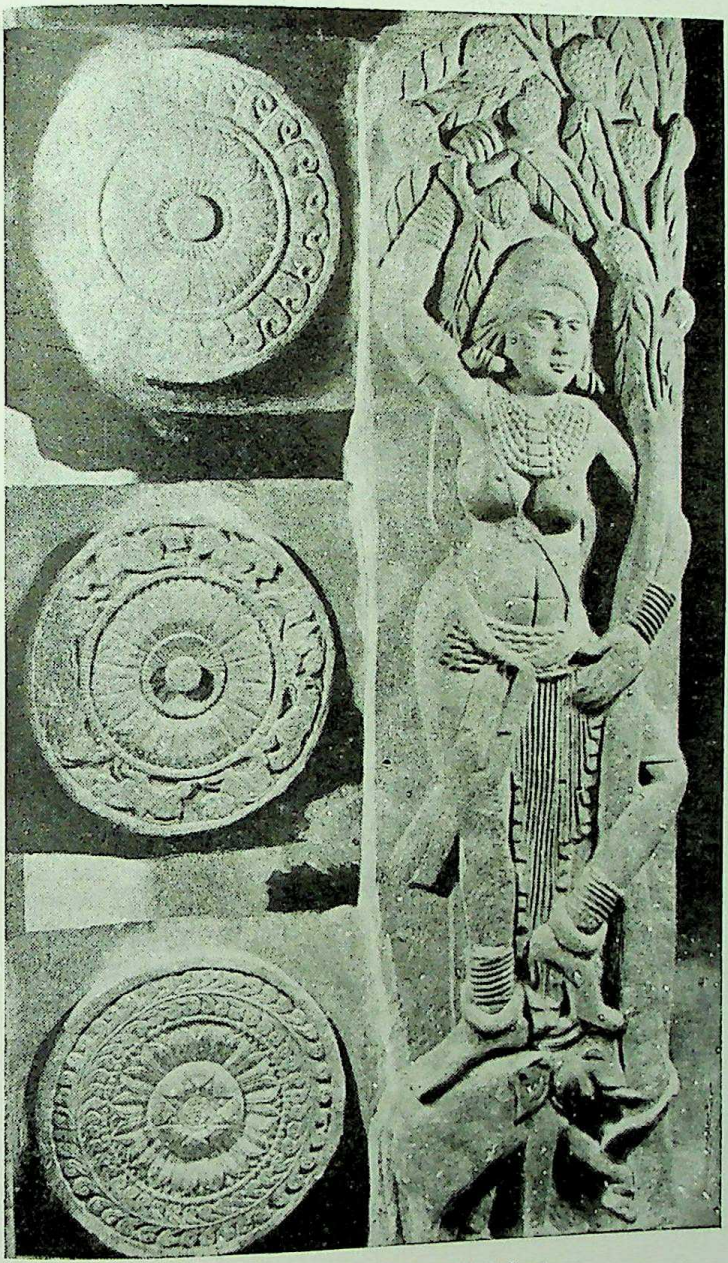
Plate I

CC-0. Asamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India



Chulakokā Devatā, Bhārhut

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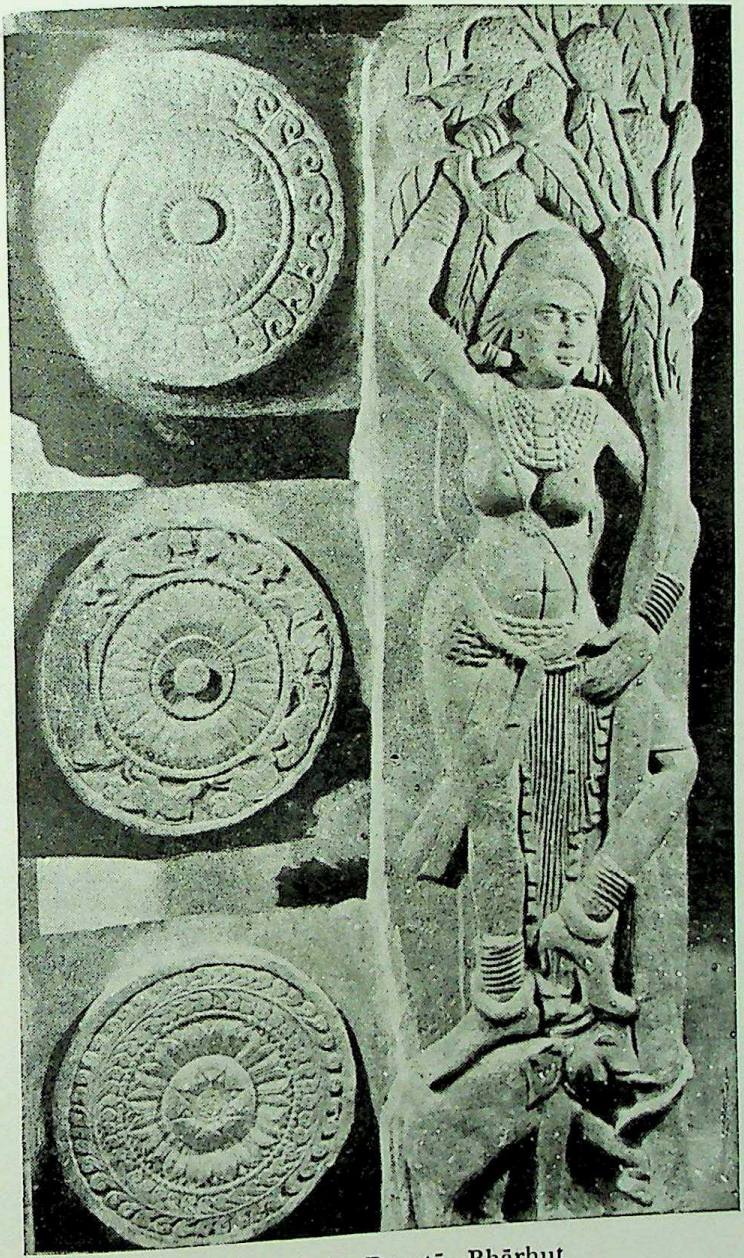
Plate I

Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India
Co-ordinated by Jagjivan Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



Chulakokā Devatā, Bhārhut

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Plate II

Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India

Mihira of Uttarāpatha

Or

Warrior, Bhārhut

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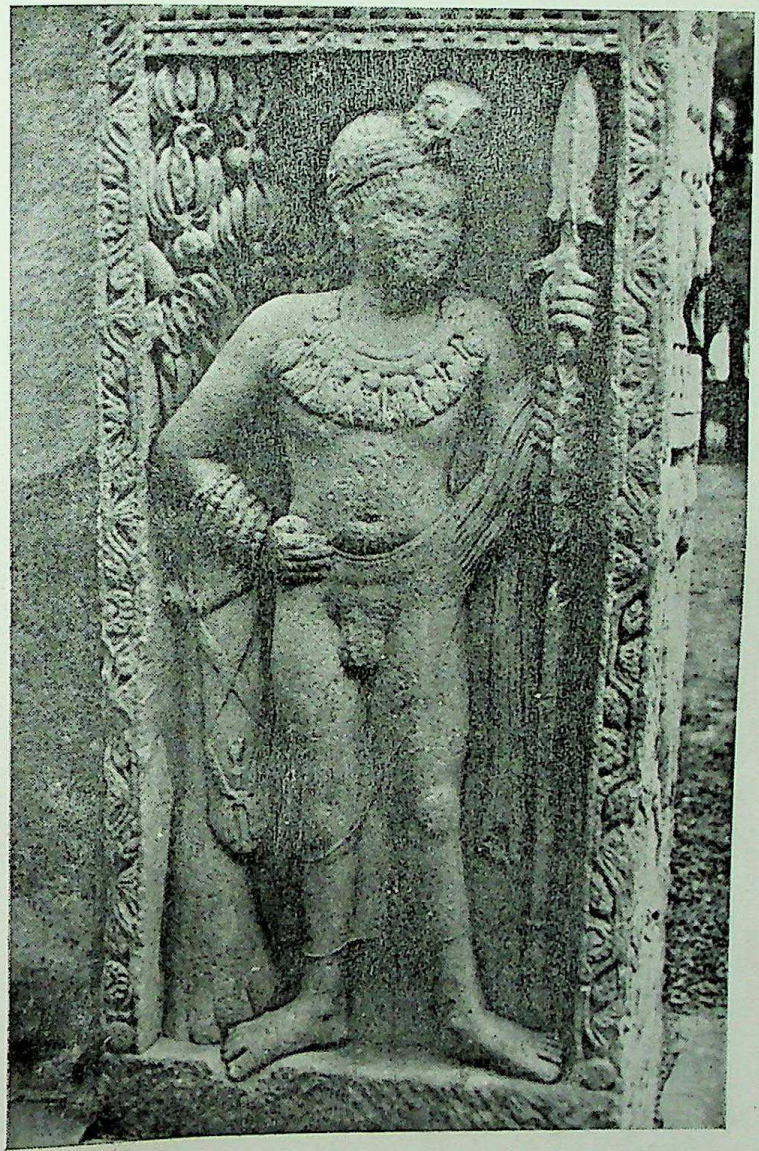
Plate CXII

Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India



Dvārapāla, Sāñchī Stūpa No. I, West Gate, S. Pillar

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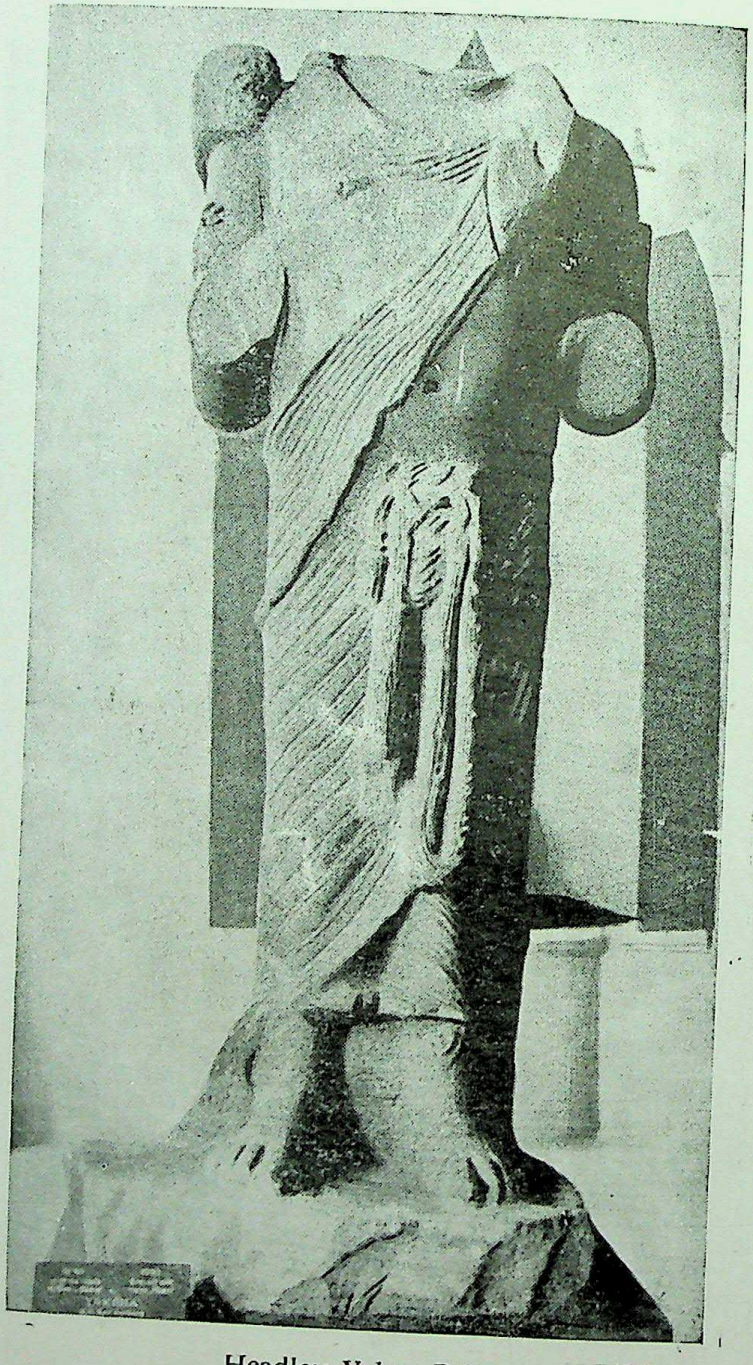
Plate IV

Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India



Headless Yakṣa, Patna

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Plate V

Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India

Yakṣiṇī
Dīdārgañj, Patna Museum

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Plate VI

Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India

Terracotta, Female Figurine
Patna Museum

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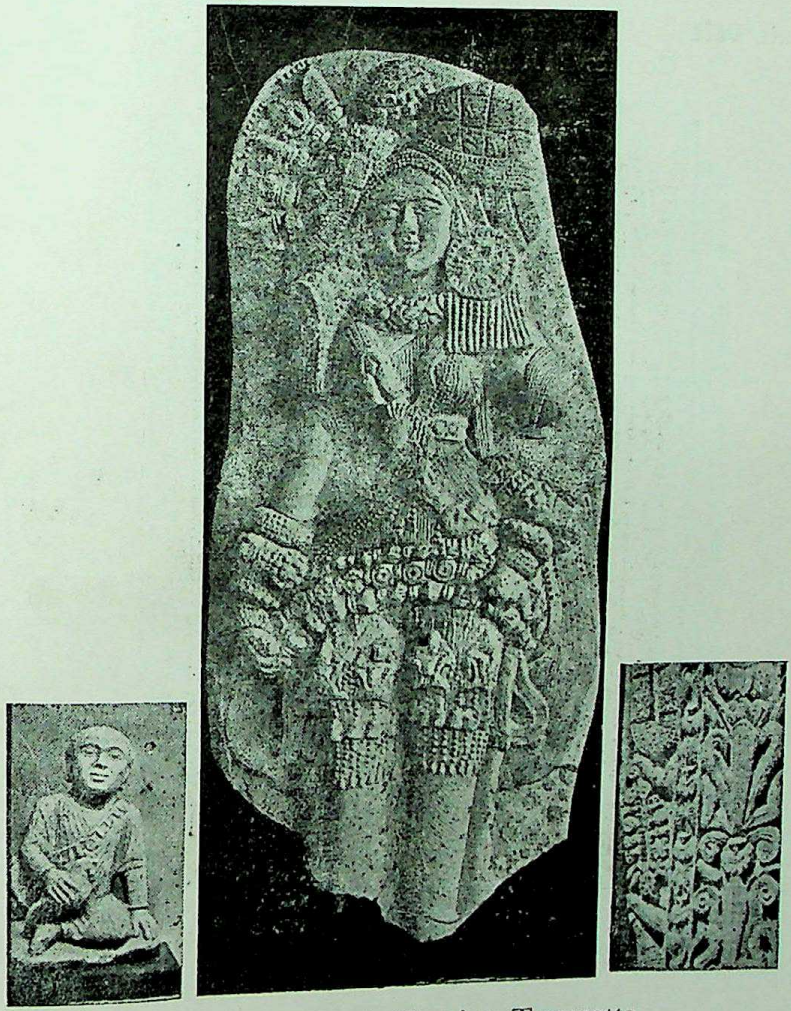
Plate VII

Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India



Tāmluk Female Figurine, Terracotta
Indian Institute. Oxford

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Plate VIII

Courtesy : Curator, Allahabad Museum

Pillar post from Bhārhut, 'Acrobatic Scene'

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Plate IX

Courtesy : Curator, Allahabad Museum

Terracotta plaque from Kośām, 'Kidnapping Scene'

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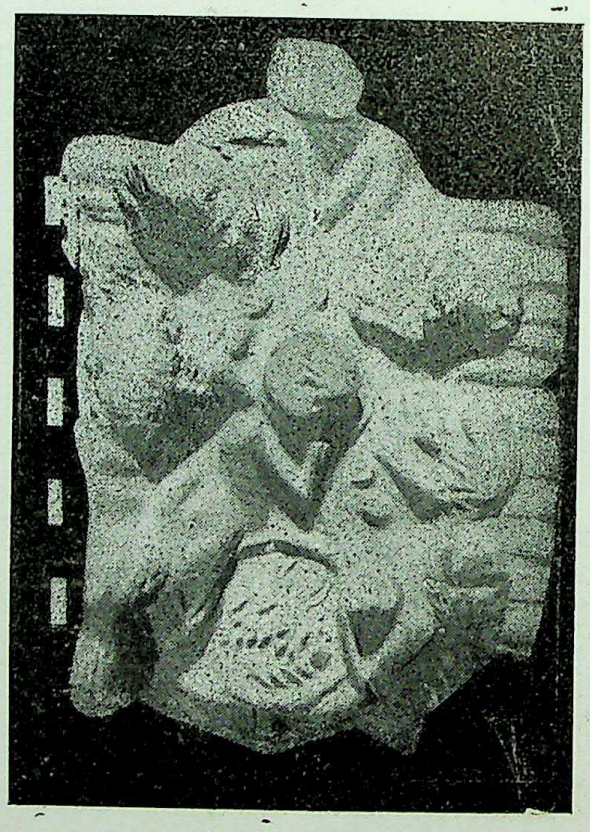
Plate X

Courtesy : Curator. Allahabad Museum



Picnic party in bullock cart

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Plate XI

Courtesy : Curator, Allahabad Museum

Circular terraiotta plasue from Kośām
'Hunter running after a doe'

Plate I

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Male Head-dresses

FIG. I (a)

FIG. I (b)

FIG. II (b)

FIG. III

FIG. II (a)

FIG. IV (b)

FIG. IV (a)

FIG. VI

FIG. VIII (a)

FIG. V

FIG. VII

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Plate II

Male Head-dresses

FIG. VIII (b)

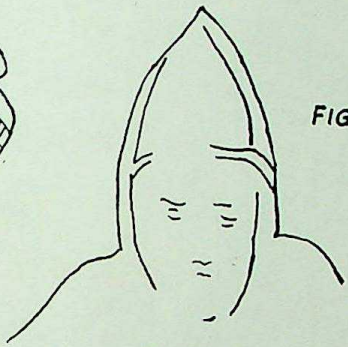

FIG. IX

FIG. X

FIG. XI

FIG. XII

FIG. XIII

FIG. XIV

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Plate III

Female Head-dresses

FIG. XV (a)

FIG. XV (b)

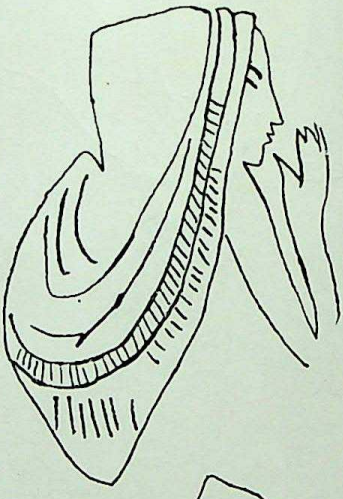

FIG. XV (C)

FIG XVI (a)

FIG. XVI (b)

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Plate IV

Female Head-dresses

FIG. XVI (C)

FIG. XVII (a)

FIG. XVII (b)

FIG. XVII (c)

FIG. XVIII (a)

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Plate V

Female Head-dresses

FIG. XVIII (b)

FIG. XIX (a)

FIG. XIX (b)

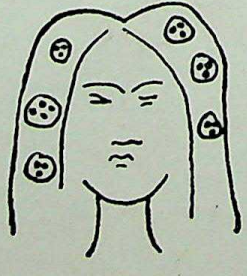

FIG. XX

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